

AURARIA: FROM NEIGHBORHOOD TO CAMPUS

by

Jodi Michelle Summers

B.A., University of Colorado at Denver, 2001

A thesis submitted to the

University of Colorado at Denver

in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

History

2003

This thesis for the Master of Arts

degree by

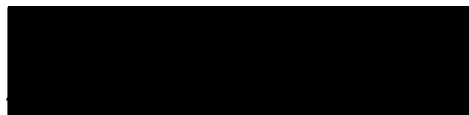
Jodi Michelle Summers

has been approved

by



Pamela Laird



Mark Foster



James Whiteside

April 24, 2003

Date

Summers, Jodi Michelle (M.A., History)

Auraria: From Neighborhood to Campus

Thesis directed by Associate Professor Pamela Laird

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the urban renewal project on Auraria Campus in Denver, Colorado, and relates the site to other urban renewal projects in the United States.

Auraria, now home to a college campus, once served as both an industrial and residential area of Denver, and in the late 1960s, the city of Denver chose the site for an urban renewal project. The project, headed by the Denver Urban Renewal Authority, demolished 145 acres on the west side of Denver. This thesis focuses on the politics of the Auraria case, demonstrating how urban politics developed through the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Denver's Auraria project generated dissension from several groups in the area, including the residents of the area and local preservation groups. While the city eventually approved the proposed college campus for the site, the opposing groups made big strides in participating in the city's politics. As a result of their activism, several historic structures still exist on the campus. Opposition from the residents of the area left a mark on city politics. Although the city of Denver approved many urban renewal projects in the era, not all residents and businessmen met the proposals

with the same support. This case serves as an example of many, with its own distinct story to tell.

Other studies have focused on the Auraria Campus and the displaced Auraria residents, and most authors have explained the story from a distinctly partisan view point, missing the richness of the complicated history. This thesis explains the Auraria project by augmenting all the available secondary sources with substantial additional primary resources in order to offer a balanced story.

In order to draw the Auraria picture into a national context, this thesis explores five different urban renewal projects in other major U.S. cities. These various projects, with all their similarities and differences from the Auraria project, further expose the complexities of urban renewal. Urban renewal projects left a lasting legacy within every major U.S. city between the 1940s and the 1980s, not only on the cities' landscapes, but on each city's politics.

This abstract accurately represents the content of the candidate's thesis. I recommend publication.

Signed

Pamela Laird

CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	vii
--------------	-----

CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION	1
Previous Interpretations.....	3
Goals	7
2. URBAN RENEWAL AND PRESERVATION IN DENVER	9
Shifts of Focus in Urban Renewal	13
Urban Renewal in Denver	16
The Skyline Project	18
3. HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE DENVER URBAN RENEWAL AUTHORITY	23
4. THE AURARIA NEIGHBORHOOD	32
5. WEST DENVER AND URBAN RENEWAL.....	39
6. A NEW CAMPUS WITH A FEW OLD BUILDINGS	53

7. URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS IN OTHER U.S. CITITES..... 60

 Detroit’s Highways 61

 San Antonio’s International Exhibition..... 64

 San Francisco’s Golden Gate Project..... 67

 St. Louis’s R-11 Folly 70

 Mass Renewal in One Chicago Area 72

 Project Distinctions.....74

8. CONCLUSION: THE LASTING LEGACY OF URBAN RENEWAL... 77

APPENDIX

 NINTH STREET RESTORED STRUCTURES..... 82

BIBLIOGRAPHY 86

PREFACE

In my first semester as a graduate student at the University of Colorado at Denver I served as a teacher's assistant in a freshman seminar focusing on Colorado history. Although it was only my first semester as an official graduate student, it was my fifth year as a student on the Auraria Campus. Over the four years I spent on my undergraduate degree I became very accustomed to the sites and layout of the Auraria Higher Education Center (AHEC). Because of this, I began to overlook the historic buildings scattered across the small but densely populated urban campus. It was not until taking the freshman students on a tour of the campus that I remembered many original questions I and others frequently have upon arrival. We started the tour from our classroom in the Plaza building, one of several typical classroom buildings on the campus. As we stepped out of the building the students were greeted by a structure that appears more like a church than a campus building. While walking toward the structure the students seemed very puzzled. One student simply looked at me and asked, "Why is there a big pink church in the middle of a college campus?" It was at that point that I realized that most of the new students to the campus had very little understanding of the cultural landscape or the political history of AHEC. The buildings of Auraria tell a story of Denver's past to which very few younger students have been exposed. With that one seemingly simple question, I chose the topic of my master's thesis.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This is a non-partisan telling of a story of urban politics as they played out in the Auraria Project in Denver examining the story as a complicated whole. The Auraria project was just one of many urban renewal projects all over the United States and in the Denver metropolitan area during the 1940s through the 1980s. Unique in some aspects, typical in others, the full story serves as a prime example of the effects of urban renewal on an area. The proposal to demolish 145 acres on the west side of the central business district in Denver triggered mixed opinions from many directions, especially the prospective displaced residents, the citizens of the Denver metropolitan area, and the state agencies involved. Yet, unlike many other urban renewal projects around the city and the country, the Auraria project had the potential to benefit all residents of the metropolitan area. It was not just a project with the goal of revitalizing a central business district or creating a new highway, it was a project that would bring higher education to the residents of the Denver metropolitan area on a centrally located campus. Even those against demolishing the residential and industrial area could not deny the need for the proposed campus in central Denver. West Denver was an appealing location for the project because it was centrally located and positioned the campus across a river from the recently

revitalized central business district. Location of the Auraria site was essential for the proposal, but planners, most likely, would have chosen a different area for the campus if the voters had not funded their matching obligation for revitalization. Despite the opposition of some residents of Denver in the late 1960s, the Auraria Project became the second major urban renewal project in the city, and the site now houses a centrally-located college campus on the edge of downtown Denver.

The Auraria campus became home to three separate institutions of higher education: Community College of Denver, Metropolitan State College of Denver, and the University of Colorado at Denver. The three institutions, while separate in constituencies, faculties, funding, and administration, share a consolidated campus on 169 acres of land on the west side of downtown Denver. Each of the three institutions is politically independent, but the Auraria Higher Education Center (AHEC) is the governing board that helps to keep the separate schools working together. AHEC acts as the landlord to the three schools by controlling campus facilities and maintenance, among other things. While Auraria Campus is the smallest college campus in the state in terms of acreage, one-fifth of the entire state's higher education enrollment find their way to classes in its buildings.

Although there is a rich economic, social, and cultural history in the area that now houses the three institutions, very few of the people who walk the sidewalks of the campus are aware of how AHEC came to occupy the land. Many people who

utilize the campus are unaware that the area now housing three institutions of higher education was once an area of both industrial and residential use.

One organization in particular that is active in educating those interested in the history of the area is the MeChA de Auraria (Movimiento estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan), an active student group that works closely with neighborhood programs like the West-Side Outreach Center. The West-Side Outreach Center still works closely with the people who lived in the neighborhood of west Denver and are active in campus politics.¹

Previous Interpretations

There has been some previous research that has either focused on the history of west-side Denver, politics behind the creation of the campus, or major players involved with facets of Auraria history. Stories of the area generally give one point of view or another. Customarily these stories portray the heroes or the victims, in particular, AHEC and urban renewal in Denver or the Auraria residents. The published works on Auraria are not comprehensive stories; they entail partisan storytelling from the heroes or the victims. Their own stories legitimate the side that

¹ The information in the text to this point was derived from my experienced as a student and employee of Auraria Campus. I have attended CU-Denver for six years, and the text describes my own personal observations. While working as a reporter for the CU-Denver *Advocate* I became very familiar with campus politics.

they represent, either patting themselves on the backs as the good guys, or playing the martyrs as helpless victims.

Frank Abbott wrote *The Auraria Higher Education Center: How It Came to Be*, an in-depth story concentrating on the conception of Auraria Campus and the steps toward making it a reality. That book, published in 1999, gives the most precise and expansive history of the institutions of Auraria, but does not offer much detail on the urban renewal process and mentions little about the people who lived on what is now the Auraria Campus. Essentially, Abbott tells a story of institutional triumph in a state that needed more higher education.²

Magdalena Gallegos, a former resident of the west Denver neighborhood and a student of the Auraria campus also wrote about the area, but she concentrated on the displaced people rather than the institutions. Gallegos conducted a series of oral interviews with many of the old west-side residents displaced by the campus, while a student at the Community College of Denver in the eighties. Currently, the oral history collection is located at the Denver Public Library in the Western History and Genealogy section.³ Gallegos also prepared two works titled "Auraria Remembered" and "History of the Hispanic Settlers in Auraria: The Forgotten Community." "Auraria Remembered" is a collection of interviews with prior residents of the area.⁴

² Frank C. Abbott, *The Auraria Higher Education Center: How It Came to Be*. (Denver: Auraria Higher Education Center, 1999).

³ Gallegos Manuscript Collection. Western History Department, Denver Public Library. Denver, Colorado.

⁴ Magdalena Gallegos, "Auraria Remembered." (Denver Community College of Denver, 1991).

The manuscript, "History of Auraria: the Forgotten Community," is different in that Gallegos mentions many of the same residents and events, but the book reads as a narrative rather than a series of interviews.⁵ The book portrays the residents as completely helpless victims of the government agencies and their policies.

In addition to the sources aforementioned, there are a few published sources that incorporate the Auraria story into their overall focus. While these works mention the Auraria project, they still tell it from single points of view. For example, in 1992, Donna McEncroe wrote an examination of the Denver Urban Renewal Authority (DURA) titled *Denver Renewed: A History of the Denver Urban Renewal Authority 1958-1986*. In her 775 pages, McEncroe focused not only on the background of the authority, but every project the authority took on, including the Auraria project. Within the Auraria section, McEncroe examined the entire process from designation of the land for urban renewal to the political repercussions of the decision, but McEncroe does not put the Auraria story into a national context. She tells it from DURA's perspective, paying little regard to those affected by the decision in the long run.⁶

Dan Corson focused his 1998 thesis on Dana Crawford, a noted preservation activist in Denver. The work is significant to Auraria's history because Ms.

⁵ Magdalena Gallegos, "History of the Hispanic Settlers in Auraria: the Forgotten Community." (Denver, CO, 1985).

⁶ Donna McEncroe, *Denver Renewed: A History of the Denver Urban Renewal Authority, 1958-1986*. (Denver: The Denver Foundation, 1992).

Crawford's group, Historic Denver, Inc. played an important role in the preservation of Ninth Street Parkway (which is an historic block of houses on Auraria campus). Although Corson's thesis provides background in Denver preservation, he has little mention of the process to save the Ninth Street Parkway on the campus. He focuses on Crawford's first major project, the preservation of Larimer Square (which is located across the Cherry Creek River from the campus). Corson's thesis clarifies early battles between DURA, individuals such as Dana Crawford and groups like Historic Denver, Inc., who fought to save many Denver treasures from the wrecking ball of urban renewal.⁷

There is little mention of the area of west Denver in Colorado history books. Most Colorado history books mention Auraria as the original township, give a history from 1858-1860, and give details about the transformations in the area, which lead to its destruction. Published sources on Auraria, Denver, and Colorado have not told a comprehensive history of west Denver, urban renewal, and the Auraria campus. Each offer small segments of the overall story, but most have not attempted to tell the whole story or to put the history of Auraria in a national context. In order to tell a more comprehensive story, it is necessary to examine new sources and take on new perspectives. While previous interpretations are useful in giving one or another perspective of the story, newspaper articles, housing statistics, and other various

⁷ Dan William Corson, "Dana Crawford: from Larimer Square to LoDo, Historic Preservation in Denver." (Thesis (M.S.) University of Colorado at Denver, 1998).

manuscript collections and primary sources have until recently been left virtually untouched in telling the Auraria story. Auraria place in the national context becomes apparent only by comparing it with other projects in the United States.

The final section of this thesis will examine the following monographs to compare Denver's Auraria experience with those of five other cities. In *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, Thomas J. Sugrue examines the city politics of Detroit, including urban renewal projects. Carl Abbott explains urban renewal in San Antonio and San Francisco, as well as several other Sunbelt cities, in *The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities*. Dennis R. Judd and Robert Mendelson examine urban politics and urban renewal projects in St. Louis in *The politics of Urban Planning: The East St. Louis Experience*. In *The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Businesses: the Hyde Park-Kenwood Case*, Brian J. L. Berry, Sandra J. Parsons, and Rutherford H. Platt examine one large area of Chicago and how it was affected by urban renewal.

Goals

The goal of this thesis is to reveal a comprehensive history of Auraria while placing the story into a national context. In order to understand the history, it is crucial to give the background of urban renewal and the political institutions of Denver and the nation, the history of the west Denver area, preservation roots in Denver, and urban renewal projects in other United States cities. This thesis will first

tell the story of Auraria as a case of urban renewal then compare and contrast the Auraria case with other urban renewal projects across the country. The Auraria urban renewal project may not be completely unique in process and result, but it is very distinctive from a national view. The Auraria project played an important role in urban renewal and local politics in Denver and the state of Colorado, despite its size on a national scale. The affects are still obvious and even poignant today.

CHAPTER TWO

URBAN RENEWAL AND PRESERVATION IN DENVER

As the United States headed further into the worst depression it had ever experienced, many Americans changed their traditional attitudes toward government intervention in private industries. The Great Depression of the 1930s impacted every American and every industry on some level, the housing industry and American homeowners took a particularly hard fall. Builders had no money to build, homeowners had no money to improve their dwellings, and thousands of Americans lost their homes to foreclosure. The United States government under the Herbert Hoover Administration faced one of the largest housing crises in the nation's history.⁸ The American public needed government intervention in order to alleviate some of the onslaught of the financial crisis.

Hoover called for the President's National Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership as the administration's first step toward addressing the crisis. The administration recognized the problems in housing and blamed the severe drop in real estate and construction for dragging down the rest of the economy. Hundreds of analysts at the conference recommended the support of the federal government in homeownership for men or heads of households, usually men, through four different

⁸ Kenneth T Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 193.

means: lowered interest rates, government assistance for low-income families, reduction of construction costs, and long-term mortgages. Although the intentions seemed good, the application of the recommendations through the 1932 Federal Home Loan Bank Act and Emergency Relief and Construction Act failed.⁹

In 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed the presidency. The Roosevelt Administration approached the still growing housing crisis with several New Deal programs. The Resettlement Administration (RA) introduced the first of the administration's programs, the Greenbelt Town Program, to tackle housing problems. The RA intended to promote urban deconcentration with the Greenbelt Town Program, but conservative opposition prevailed. Congress abandoned the Greenbelt Town Program and the RA by 1938.

With growing conservative opposition to their initial efforts, the Roosevelt Administration took a new approach to the crisis through the Home Owner Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1933. The U.S. House and Senate passed the law, replacing the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, with the intent to help avoid more foreclosures. The HOLC granted low interest rates and long term loans with uniform payments, but it still faced problems with foreclosure. While the HOLC gave guarantees to lenders, high risk applicants and poor housing conditions still presented problems. In order to gain more perspective on housing conditions, the HOLC commissioned trained

⁹ Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier*, pp. 193-195. Also see, Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 60-63.

appraisers to divide all of the major U.S. cities into four grades, one the highest and four the lowest. The condition of the dwelling as well as several economic, social, and ethnic factors determined the grades. Most of the appraisers had a negative attitude toward city living, and most areas of minority groups, usually in the center city, received a grade four from the appraisers. Grades one and two received easy financing through the HOLC, while grades three and four did not.

The administration made more strides with the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the agency's adoption of the National Housing Act of 1934. The FHA has since served as one of the most authoritative federal agencies in urban policy. With the adoption of the National Housing Act of 1937, the FHA and the Roosevelt Administration sought further to expand influence of federal agencies in urban policy. They also sought further to alleviate unemployment in the construction industry and improve housing standards and conditions all across the United States. The Act worked to stimulate building, relying on private enterprises rather than more government spending. The FHA insured mortgage guarantees with banks in the effort to stabilize influence on the mortgage market and offer home financing on reasonable terms. This allowed more families to afford purchasing homes and alleviated the apprehension of major banks to finance their loans. The National Housing Act of 1937 also established minimum standards for home

construction ensuring statistical accuracy. Soon after, builders went back to work, and house sales rose across the United States.¹⁰

Although the Housing Act of 1937 benefited many U.S. residents, the ethnic minority groups did not experience equal benefits. Ethnic minority groups concerned the FHA, which claimed an area could lose investment value if it did not remain segregated. Within a few years, new FHA insured subdivisions enforced regulations and covenants in efforts to ensure segregation of whites from other ethnic minority groups. The FHA continued to fund these housing developments with restrictive covenants even after a 1948 Supreme Court ruling deemed the restrictions “unenforceable as law”.¹¹ The initial efforts of the FHA further concentrated the poor, usually ethnic minority groups, in the central city.

Thus, the origins of urban renewal came with the early federal housing programs. As the Great Depression took its toll on all Americans, the U.S. government changed its role. The movement really was a transition between traditions of creating housing as purely private market-based phenomenon to increased state influence. Although not all the initial programs found great success, they all contributed to future programs in several ways. The programs of the 1940s and forward took on some of the same characteristic of the National Housing Act of 1937 and the others, not only in funding approaches, but also attitudes toward the

¹⁰ Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier*, pp. 203-208. and Sugrue, *The Origins of Urban Crisis*, pp. 60-63.

¹¹ *Shelley v. Kraemer* Supreme Court decision quoted in Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier*, p. 208.

central city and its occupants. The federal housing programs concentrated minority populations in what were then undesirable central city areas, where the housing conditions did not benefit from the programs. Large white populations took advantage of the programs in housing outside the inner city, usually in a suburb. This process led to further deterioration of the central city and despair for the majority minority groups that lived there. The programs of the 1940s and forward concentrated more on the condition of the central city, not to grant equal rights of the housing programs, but to revitalize areas for civic and private usage. By the 1960s, urban renewal projects operated in a time when central city zones were regaining their values, so they wound up displacing and, more to the point, dispersing these same or similar poor and minority peoples whom earlier federal and state policies left there while the middle-class and white people moved into the suburbs. Auraria experienced the paradoxical effects of this shift in focus intensively.

Shifts of Focus in Urban Renewal

As the world began to recuperate after World War II, the United States began to take an even closer look at the condition of its major cities. The nation was changing at a rapid pace. More people needed new homes, cities needed new streets and highways, and most of the major U.S. cities needed a face-lift. In most major cities, the central city had become run-down and neglected over the course of several decades. The center or downtown areas of the cities were the places that most did not

want to visit. As more and more families and individuals began to flock to the suburbs, the inner city became the residence of lower-class families and individuals, along with foundering businesses and crime. All across the United States, major cities started implementing programs to revitalize their central cities. The federal government implemented national programs for financial and legal support of the cities. This began a new era for urban renewal programs in the United States. Most of the major cities appointed new authorities to implement the urban renewal programs. According to McEncroe's opening statement in *Denver Renewed: A History of the Denver Urban Renewal Authority 1958-1986*, increasing numbers of policy makers thought of urban renewal in many cities in the United States as a means for tackling the problems of the inner city and revitalizing their problem areas in order to benefit all residents.¹²

In the 1987 publication *Urban Fortunes: the Political Economy of Place*, authors John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch break down the background of urban renewal as a national movement. They claim that shifts in urban renewal were primarily a product of the National Housing Act of 1949. According to them, after World War II the new housing act was passed because of postwar enthusiasm and in order to reward veterans with adequate housing. The legislation not only called for decent housing for the returning veterans, but for all Americans. Other legislation, as a spin-off of the Act, authorized the construction of 135,000 units of public housing

¹² McEncroe, *Denver Renewed*, p. 1.

annually. Although the initial efforts for the plan the housing units called for building outside of the urban slums, the political realities meant that the projects would be constructed outside the good neighborhoods and away from zones slated for higher-rent developments, leaving the projects undesirable for many. The real impact of the act, however, was the potential for exchanging housing projects for projects other than housing.¹³ The Housing Act of 1949 also encouraged existing inequities. This began the new focus for urban renewal in the United States.

Within the legislation, an increasing percentage of a city's federal aid designated for "slum" clearance could be used for projects other than housing. In order to gain urban renewal funds, a city or locality had to match one-third of the federal funds for the designated project. Over time, the cities and localities began to take liberties with what could be used to make up their responsibility of funding. After a 1954 legislative amendment, the cities and localities could officially claim private expenditures, like those made by hospitals and universities on their own facilities, as part of the city's share. Urban renewal became a device for protecting the city's central business district, property investments, and as Logan and Molotch claim, "the careers of white politicians."¹⁴

¹³ John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch. *Urban Fortunes: the Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), p. 167.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.

Urban Renewal in Denver

Although Denver was experiencing some of the same postwar issues as many of the other U.S. cities, it did not initiate urban renewal programs until a little later. Urban renewal took its roots in Denver with the election of Mayor Quigg Newton in 1947, which alerted Washington D.C. of a post-war housing crisis in Denver, and took steps toward urban renewal in the city. In their first major step the Newton administration completed several planned public housing projects, as well as major planning steps for other housing projects. The administration requested that the Denver Housing office work with the Denver Planning office to survey housing conditions in Denver. The two groups produced the "Carmichael Survey" in which they explained that 23.9% of the housing in Denver was what they considered "substandard," and of that percentage, the majority of those living in the "substandard" homes were Hispanic.¹⁵

The Newton administration decided to use the 1949 Federal Housing Act in order to help Denver with its housing crisis. According to the federal act the city was required to eliminate one substandard housing unit for each new public housing unit built. According to McEncroe, "Newton claimed that slum clearance would be simultaneous with completion of public housing units," but then there was the question of what to do with the displaced families that the clearance would affect.¹⁶

¹⁵ McEncroe, *Denver Renewed*, pp. 18-20.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 21.

By 1952 the urban renewal efforts led to 3,240 successfully built units in thirteen projects, providing new homes for displaced families.¹⁷ As efforts proceeded, there was a new need for a group dedicated to administer the projects. In April 1955, by ordinance of the City Council, the Denver Urban Renewal Commission (DURC) was created. Newton appointed seven of the original eleven members.¹⁸

DURC was not the only tool for urban renewal in Denver in the 1950s. For instance, in 1955, as a mechanism for urban renewal, seventy-five downtown businessmen founded Downtown Denver, Inc. (DDI). Along with the city, DDI brought in a panel from the National Urban Land Institute to make recommendations for downtown improvements and development. One year later, 176 business firms founded the Downtown Denver Improvement Association (DDIA), replacing DDI, with the goal to lobby for the creation of an Urban Renewal Authority.¹⁹ Denver elected William F. Nicholson as the city's mayor in 1955. Mayor Nicholson claimed that urban renewal was his number one goal for the city, and sought to rid Denver of what he considered its blighted areas and slums. By 1957, there was little money available for urban renewal through the city, a proposed income tax increase was defeated, and the DURC's budget was slashed by 90 percent.²⁰

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 37.

¹⁹ Dennis R. Judd, "From Cowntown to Sunbelt City: Boosterism and Economic Growth in Denver." In S. Fainstein, N. Fainstein, R.L. Hill, D. Judd, and M.P. Smith, *Restructuring the Political Economy of Urban Development* (New York and London: Longman, 1983), 178-179.

²⁰ McEncroe, *Denver Renewed*, pp. 50-51.

At this point the public and private sides of urban renewal had the same goal; shortly after a March 10, 1958 public hearing, the Denver City Council unanimously approved the creation of an urban authority.²¹ Through the legislation enacted by the General Assembly of the state of Colorado and the City and County and Denver, the Denver Urban Renewal Authority (DURA) was born. Primary duties for the authority included the development and implementation of programs to improve the city's "blighted" or "slum" areas. Conservation, rehabilitation, and/or redevelopment served as the three types of action used by the authority with the cooperation of other city government departments.²² The authority used the results from the "Carmichael Survey" to determine the slum areas of the city. DURA's first major programs focused on the slums and lower-income housing units in the city, tackling the clearance of slums in run-down residential areas of Denver. Slum clearance for public housing was the first major goal, but DURA soon took on bigger projects within the city.

The Skyline Project

DURA's first major project outside of slum clearance for public housing was the Skyline Project, which began in 1961 and was designed to encourage a balance

²¹ *Ibid*, 52-53.

²² "Agency History," p.2. In the Denver Urban Renewal Authority. 1976. Records, 1958-1974. Denver Urban Renewal Authority Records. Manuscript Collection. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

between residential and business development in downtown Denver. The original plan in 1961 did not involve DURA, but rather a Downtown Denver Master Plan Committee. The committee was made up of both public officials and local businessmen with the purpose of writing and obtaining voter approval for an urban renewal plan. In 1963, the committee produced the *Development Guide for Downtown Denver* as their proposal for the Skyline Project, which would eliminate “skid row,” an area composed of several blocks the committee perceived as a major eye sore in downtown Denver. The Forward Metro Denver group, a spin-off of the committee, began to campaign for voter approval of the Skyline Project in 1964. Despite a major effort by the group, voters rejected an \$8-million bond issue for the project that year.²³

The proposed Skyline Project did succeed however in sparking the interest of Dana Crawford, a resident of Denver. Within the boundaries of the proposed project was one of Denver’s oldest and most historically significant blocks on Larimer Street. The one-square block of Larimer was not only the site of Denver’s alleged first home, but the block had hosted many of Denver’s significant events in its century old history. Crawford saw this block not as a blighted slum, but as an area worth rehabilitating. The Larimer Square project marked the beginning of major historic

²³ Judd, “From Cowntown,” pp. 178-179.

preservation effort in the city of Denver. Crawford was not about to see the block cleared at the hands of urban renewal.²⁴

Crawford was not new to the preservation business in Denver; before her major efforts for saving Larimer, Crawford had been involved with preserving both the Molly Brown House and the Moffat Mansion. Crawford, although interested in saving the historic block on Larimer for preservation purposes, saw it as an opportunity for real estate development. The buildings would not only serve as a symbol of Denver's past, but could also serve viable businesses on the edge of downtown. Many preservation activists have criticized Crawford for seeming to take advantage of preservation incentives only when they provide a clear financial advantage, yet Larimer unquestionably proved a significant accomplishment for preservation in Denver. In 1965 historic preservation did not have any major legislative support on either a local or national scale. The National Historic Preservation Act was implemented in 1966, and Denver's Landmark Preservation Committee was created in 1967--both after Crawford's early efforts. Crawford was on the forefront of the movement; she requested that the block be designated as an historic block by the Colorado Historical Society in 1965, which would protect it from the Skyline Project.²⁵

²⁴ Corson, *Dana Crawford*, p. 5.

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

The Skyline Project proceeded to push for city approval while Crawford used all her power to save the block on Larimer. While Crawford worked to preserve the block on Larimer, boosters of the Skyline Project had successfully lobbied President Johnson's administration to allow the city to claim its investment in the newly constructed Currigan Exhibit Hall as its matching share for the Skyline Project. The matching share from the Currigan project covered the city's full share of the clearance cost without a vote for a new bond issue. Without having to put more tax dollars into the initial Skyline Project, the city overwhelmingly passed the proposal.²⁶

Crawford succeeded in her preservation efforts before the Skyline Project vote. The Larimer Square redevelopment plan began before the redevelopment plans for Skyline were finalized. In the citizen vote on May 16, 1967, Larimer Square was officially designated as a "rehabilitation area."²⁷ Crawford formally organized Historic Denver, Inc. in 1970 after her success with Larimer Street. In 1971 the Denver City Council designated Larimer Square as the first historic district.²⁸

In the end the Skyline Project consisted of the clearance of 27 acres of land in downtown Denver to make way for dozens of skyscrapers, along with several public buildings including new police and fire buildings, a sports arena, libraries, and other public improvement projects. After the initial vote in 1967, voters approved an \$87 million bond issue for funds in the Skyline Projects. Over \$600 million of public and

²⁶ Judd, "From Cowntown," pp. 179-180.

²⁷ Corson, *Dana Crawford*, pp. 24-25.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 89.

private monies were committed to the Skyline Project by 1978. Although the Skyline Project was the first major project for DURA, the authority started and completed another major project, Auraria, right across the street from Skyline before the Skyline Project was complete.

CHAPTER THREE

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE DENVER URBAN RENEWAL AUTHORITY

Higher education in Colorado was a big issue for the state legislature around the mid-1950s, the same time the initial stages of urban renewal were taking form in Denver. Tidal waves of college students were predicted to hit higher education facilities in Colorado by the mid-1960s. In 1955 the Colorado Education Committee of Legislative Council responded to the growing concern of the future of higher education in the state by appointing a subcommittee on higher education. The committee met for a year and in 1956 was re-commissioned to a full committee with the goal of raising the number of two-year colleges in Colorado. Two years later under House Joint Resolution 6, the Colorado legislature created the Legislative Committee on Education Beyond High School. Its main goal was to initiate higher education planning, create new institutions, and continue to support and expand the existing higher education institutions.²⁹

Although a small number of Colorado high school graduates entered institutions of higher education in Colorado by the early 1960s, the low number of junior colleges in the state constantly concerned the committee. Because of the

²⁹ Abbott, *The Auraria Higher Education Center*, p. 3.

committee's concern, the state legislature placed importance on expanding the number of local junior colleges, especially since the local districts funded the colleges. In June 1960 the committee created a subcommittee on Education Beyond High School in the Denver Metropolitan Area, which focused on high school graduates in the most heavily populated areas in the state. After appointing Representative Roy Romer as the subcommittee's first chair, members focused on the perspective of higher education in the Denver metropolitan area. By January of 1961 the subcommittee endorsed the recommendation to create four junior colleges in Denver. The proposal came after a report stated that more than forty percent of the state junior college enrollments were outside the local college districts. Many of those enrolled in junior colleges outside the Denver metropolitan area actually lived in the Front Range and commuted daily.³⁰

The subcommittee also supported the conversion of the University of Colorado Extension Centers, satellite classes offered in Denver and Colorado Springs, into degree-granting institutions. The University of Colorado had established the extension center in Denver in 1912 and later established a similar center in Colorado Springs. Neither of the extension centers were authorized to grant degrees, although degree programs at the main campus in Boulder transferred some credits from the extension centers. Over the years the Denver Extension Center occupied many locations and many different students attended classes there. As both the Denver and

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 5.

the Colorado Springs Extension Centers grew, they wanted to convert the centers into degree-granting institutions separate from the main Boulder campus. In early 1961, The Board Study Report stated that the schools would require the same standards as Boulder in instruction and all other institutional standards. The centers gave their proposal and report to the University Regents, but by December 1964 the University of Colorado Regents turned the proposal down, because they did not want competition for the Boulder campus.

In the spring of 1962 the Legislative Committee and the Joint Budget Committee created a Task Group on Post High School Education in the Denver metropolitan area to replace the existing subcommittee. The subcommittee worked fast to create a new plan because the University of Colorado turned down plans to convert the Denver Extension Center into a degree-granting institution. By November 1962 the Task Group recommended the establishment of Metropolitan State College of Denver (MSCD), a new four-year higher education institution, to serve the needs of the prospective students in the area. The proposal called for operation of the new college to begin by 1964, recommendations were made for the state to purchase the facilities used for the Denver Extension Center from the CU Regents, but if that was not possible, the Task Group recommended that the state acquire space already used for educational purposes. The Regents allowed the Denver Extension Center to offer official degrees independent from Boulder as a reaction to the prospective competition. The Boulder campus began to accept School

of Liberal Arts and Sciences credits from the Denver Extension Center, which essentially created a new university in Denver without consulting or seeking the approval from any other state authority.³¹ The Regents were not going to allow any other higher education institution to challenge the University of Colorado.

The Association of State Institutions of Higher Education in Colorado, a group of collegiate presidents in the state, released a report to the Committee on Education Beyond High School titled "A Program for the Differentiation and Coordination of Function" in December of 1962.³² Although the report dealt with the roles of the state institutions already in operation, it made no mention of the recently recommended Metropolitan State College of Denver. In his inaugural address in January of 1963, Governor John A. Love opposed the creation of a four-year Metropolitan State College of Denver as part of his general resistance to growth in Colorado. However, Love's opposition did not mean an end to the proposed college: the Task Force, with the support of the Legislative Committee and the Joint Budget Committee, worked toward enacting the proposed legislation. As a response to specific legislation in February 1963, the Association recommended that the legislative subcommittee establish the first two years of classes for MSCD. Eventually the college would serve as a four-year institution offering a limited range of baccalaureate degrees. Despite the dissent of the University of Colorado,

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 9.

³² *Ibid*, p. 151.

Governor Love, in response to the growing support of the proposal, signed House Bill 349 in May 1963, which created the new state college. With the institution underway, the Task Force planned the operation of MSCD's first freshman and sophomore years.³³

In December 1964 the Association of State Institutions of Higher Education in Colorado published the initial financial and operational plans for MSCD in *A Program for the Development and Coordination of Higher Education in Colorado, 1963-1970*. By May of the next year MSCD acquired funding to open. The plans scheduled the first two years of baccalaureate education to begin in the fall and granted a \$750,000 appropriation to fund the college's opening.³⁴ Metropolitan State College of Denver opened in October 1965 with 1,189 students, and Mayor Thomas G. Currigan directed the Denver Planning Office to seek a 200 acre site for the college facilities. The Denver Planning Office initially identified nine possible sites for the college facilities in April of 1966. By July, the Executive Committee chose 150 acres in west Denver as the best location. The designated area in west Denver was once the township of Auraria, so the Denver Planning Office changed the site's name from "west Denver" to "Auraria" in recognition of the location's history.

In 1965, Governor Love's approval of House Bill 1170 created the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (CCHE) to address rising enrollments in the state.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 152.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 152.

Just over 80,000 students enrolled in some form of higher education in Colorado in 1966. With enrollments rising, the CCHE released a preliminary plan called *Strengthening Higher Education in Colorado*. In the plan, the CCHE proposed the creation of a state-wide community college system and supported the expansion of MSCD from two to four years of education. The state appropriated \$19,545,000 toward higher education, which funded plans for third year instruction at MSCD.³⁵ CCHE went to work creating a state system of community colleges and a full baccalaureate program at MSCD. In March the legislature authorized a three-campus Community College of Denver system, appointed a new state board of Community Colleges and Occupational Education, and added full instruction at MSCD.³⁶

While CCHE was at work creating institutions, DURA took over the site decisions for the Auraria project. In its "Metropolitan State College Site Selection Report," DURA looked at three possible sites for the new college. Comparisons of all locations took place for appraising land value and size in acres and square footage. Each of the districts DURA examined were considered blighted by definition of urban renewal. Out of the three districts appraised, (Civic Center, Auraria, and North Stadium), DURA considered Auraria at 126.40 acres for \$12,671,392 as the best possible site. Although the initial report appeared to indicate that the North Stadium district was the cheapest in terms of cost per square foot for the urban renewal

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 32-35.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 32-35.

project, the report also stated that the figures did not include acres in the area already used for parks and playing fields.³⁷ Included in the report was an estimate of the ultimate cost if the new college was to be built on the Auraria site. It indicated that the acquisition of 145 acres would cost \$14,050,000. After adding in the costs of property demolition, public improvements, and miscellaneous other expenses, DURA predicted the gross project cost (125 acres at ninety cents per square foot) at \$18,930,000. After subtracting the land sale proceeds, what DURA called the "net sharable costs" totaled \$14,029,500. Twenty acres were included in the total square footage, but those acres were already used for church and street property. The local and state share for the project was one-third of the net sharable cost, and DURA indicated that Major Model City financial assistance may have been possible.³⁸ DURA then broke down the purchasing power in an economic impact report in which the agency estimated that 241 families, and 104 additional individuals lived in the designated area. According to the report, the average annual income was \$3,105 for families and \$1,972 for individuals.³⁹ The Auraria district comprised many run-down factories, businesses, and homes, and the statistics told DURA that the people in the neighborhood did not have the money to fix them.

³⁷ "Metropolitan State College Site Selection Report." Appendix I. In the Denver Urban Renewal Authority. 1976. Records, 1958-1974. Box 4, FF3. Manuscript Collection. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

³⁸ *Ibid*, Appendix II.

³⁹ "The Economic Impact..." p. 2. In the Denver Urban Renewal Authority. 1976. Records, 1958-1974. Box 4, FF3. Manuscript collection. Denver Public Library Western history and Genealogy.

State approval for the Auraria site came in March 1968. The Trustees of the State Colleges were the first to approve the Auraria site. In March the CCHE also gave approval for the site providing the state would not have to pay anything for the land. Once CCHE gave official approval, design planning began. The commission's president presented an idea of creating an "educational park" for institutions of higher education at the Auraria site. The idea was a success among the members of Denver Area Council on Higher Education. A "working committee" appointed by the council represented the involved institutions. By September of 1968 the CCHE announced the plans for Auraria publicly, and the Commission hired Lamar Kelsey and Associates to conduct a study of the area to confirm feasibility. Kelsey reported in November 1968 that the Auraria site was appropriate and could accommodate a college campus.⁴⁰

The next step came in January 1969 with the approval from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Redevelopment. Along with the approval of Auraria as an Urban Renewal site, the Department allocated \$12.6 million from the Model Cities funds as capital grant reservation. The \$12.6 million funding was intended for site acquisition, relocation of residents and businesses, and clearance costs. Although CCHE had approved the prospective site in March 1968, providing the land acquisition would be at no cost to the state, the commission withdrew the stipulation after the \$12.6 million allocation. With news of the allocation, the

⁴⁰ Abbott, *Auraria Higher Education Center*, 39-51.

Working Committee appointed representative committees to study the collaboration for the library, student services, physical education, and other programs for the new campus. In May 1969 the Legislature allocated \$225,000 for initial planning of the campus but did not commit to the building of the higher education center. CCHE worked to obtain a federal grant, which it received in September, to help administer costs for Auraria planning. Although money was provided from many different places and organizations to help with the campus, the citizens of Denver were still held accountable to raise \$6 million toward the new campus according to national urban renewal cost sharing requirements.⁴¹ A special bond election was set for November of 1969 at which the citizens could make or break the campus idea. The state committees and institutions did not consider the reaction of the residents of west Denver throughout the process. They had not been involved in the decision-making process, even though they had the most to lose.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp. 53-63.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE AURARIA NEIGHBORHOOD

The area now commonly known as Auraria has experienced many changes during the course of its history. From the very beginning the area was quite different from the rest of Denver. West Denver was originally settled as its own township in the fall of 1858. The Russell Party from Auraria, Georgia staked claim in July 1858 to the land on the west side of the Cherry Creek River after discovering gold nearby. The official Auraria Town Company, named after the hometown of the party, established its township on October 3, 1858. After the creation of the township, the Larimer Party arrived in the area on November 16, 1858. Within six days the new party had staked claim to the land east of Cherry Creek and formed the Denver City Town Company, named for Kansas Territorial Governor James William Denver. For two years the separate townships were in constant competition to become the leading city of the area. Although the streets were unkempt, the houses were made of logs, and there was little organization, the people of the two towns made big strides to establish their new homes. Auraria was the home to the first school and the first newspaper in what is now Denver. It was not until April 5, 1860 that the leaders from each of townships met on the Larimer Street Bridge crossing at Cherry Creek and

signed a pact consolidating into one Denver City.⁴² From that point forward the township of Auraria became known popularly as West Denver for over one hundred years.

Although considered part of the entire city, west Denver continued a life of its own even after consolidating into Denver. Home to many Irish and German immigrants, this section of Denver became and remained very mixed in use for over a century. Houses were scattered throughout the neighborhood, along with small neighborhood shops, but the area was also a harbor for many different industries.

Some of the leading industries included a few enormous flour mills owned by Irish-born businessman John Kernan Mullen and several breweries owned and operated by different German immigrants. The most important and lasting of those breweries was the Colorado Brewery established by German immigrant Mortiz Sigi in 1866. Throughout the years the brewery expanded and became much larger in stature. In 1890, the building of a tower on top of the Colorado Brewery added to the striking architectural style of the building, and 1892 brought an attached Turnhalle Opera House. Eight years later John Good bought the brewery and named it after the Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen.⁴³ The striking architecture of the Tivoli Brewery has served as a significant landmark for the area ever since.

⁴² Stephen J. Leonard & Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: From Mining Camp to Metropolis* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990, 1994 paperback), pp. 8-9.

⁴³ Historic Denver Incorporated. "Ninth Street Park Dedication" pamphlet. Denver, CO: August 1, 1976, p. 4.

Other significant landmarks for the area were its churches. With the help and demand of many people in the area the German immigrant population constructed the St. Elizabeth's Catholic Church and school, in 1887. That year the Irish population of the area built St. Leo's Catholic Church.⁴⁴ What is now known as the Emmanuel Gallery served as the Jewish temple in Auraria. The churches served as community centers for the different ethnic groups of the area for many years.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century many of the Irish and German immigrants began to move out of the area for a combination of reasons. Street cars in Denver offered people the opportunity to move away from the crowded, semi-industrial neighborhoods into neighborhoods outside of the inner city. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, Auraria had become strictly a working-class neighborhood. It was the west section of the city that the incoming immigrant groups to Denver typically occupied first. At this point many other immigrants into Denver began to occupy the empty homes the other groups had left behind. While some of the homes were left open for purchase, many of the families that left the area maintained ownership of their old homes in west Denver. This left the new residents renting from the previous occupiers of the homes.

Beginning around 1920, many Hispanic immigrants made the west side of Denver their new home. A large number had migrated from different parts of Mexico, New Mexico, and southern Colorado. When the Hispanics arrived to the

⁴⁴ Gallegos, "History of the Hispanic Settlers in Auraria," p. 2.

area west of downtown Denver they encountered many ethnic groups, predominantly of German and Irish decent. Several of these immigrant families started to move out to other parts of the city and were leaving vacated homes for occupation by these new groups. Many ex-residents retained ownership of the homes and rented to the new population of Hispanic settlers. The area was a mix of residential homes, small shops, and large industries that offered the new and existing groups a place to live and work. While the west side of Denver was an official part of the city, the geography and history of the area virtually cut off the section from other parts of Denver.

The process of population ebb and flow in Auraria was tumultuous. For every family that moved out a new immigrant family moved in, often causing new ethnic turmoil in the area. Although both the established residents of the area and most of the new Hispanic settlers were Catholic, the established groups had acquired their own churches during the existence of the neighborhood. By the early 1920s the Hispanic population had grown significantly, thus creating a demand for separate church services. The Hispanic population started to hold church services in the basement of St. Leo's Catholic Church in 1922. Father Bartholomew Caldenty held services in Spanish, and the crowds became larger and larger. Many of the Hispanic children also attended school at St. Elizabeth Catholic Church.⁴⁵ The joint use of the churches worked for a short while, but, as the population of Hispanic residents

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 11.

increased, the basement of St. Leo's was clearly too small for the large numbers of people. Ethnic tension also started to grow as an influx of Hispanic immigrants moved into the neighborhood. Sharing the churches in the neighborhood was not ideal for anyone involved.

Most Hispanic residents in west Denver had very little means for taking care of themselves and their families. The idea of raising enough money to buy land, build a church, and maintain the building seemed completely out of reach for the residents. They found the assistance needed from the Mullen family, who had made their fortune in the area. J.K. Mullen first donated the land for the site of the new church. The family donated their old home at 1178 Ninth Street along with \$5000 to the new parish. The Mullens also challenged the parish to raise matching funds. The Hispanic parishioners responded quickly and enthusiastically to the Mullen's challenge, raising \$4000. Unfortunately the parish hit a major road-block when the bank holding their newly acquired money failed and closed its doors. Father Caldenty responded by moving the services into the Mullen's old home and took out a \$20,000 loan from the German American Bank. Ground breaking for the new St. Cajetan's Catholic Church took place on October 1, 1924.⁴⁶

Less than one year after breaking ground on the new church Catherine Mullen passed away. Following the wishes of his late wife, J.K. Mullen paid off the debt of

⁴⁶ William J. Convery, "Pray for the Soul of Catherine Smith Mullen. John K. and Catherine S. Mullen and Philanthropy in Auraria." *Historical Studies Journal* 14 (1997): pp. 13-17.

the parish and hired architect Frank Kircof to finish the church for \$47,708.⁴⁷ The Spanish Colonial style St. Cajetan's Catholic Church was dedicated on March 21, 1926, in Catherine S. Mullen's honor. St. Cajetan's became the cultural seat for the Hispanic residents of the neighborhood, providing spiritual leadership, a school, and economic assistance through the parish's credit union. Over the years the west side of Denver became its own community separate from the rest of the city, especially within the Hispanic community. In "Auraria Remembered," Gallegos quotes Russell De Leon as reminiscing, "We stayed in the neighborhood most of the time because it felt safe."⁴⁸ Although ethnic tension still existed in the area, west Denver was the safe barrio for the Hispanic population.

The west side barrio took on a life of its own for three generations. Unfortunately, as time wore on, the already run-down community fell deeper and deeper into despair. The houses were deteriorating, the people were not making any more money than the generations before them, and west Denver became a concern for the entire city. Businesses were closing, and families were becoming increasingly destitute. St. Cajetan's had always served as a neighborhood center, but the neighborhood needed more help than the church could provide. As the years went on, the west Denver community fell further into a slump from which it would never recover. West Denver had become a slum, or a run-down neighborhood beyond

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 17.

⁴⁸ Gallegos, "Auraria Remembered," p. 13.

rehabilitation, according to the Denver Urban Renewal Authority. The citizen vote of November 1969 had the potential of sealing the fate for the west side barrio.

CHAPTER FIVE

WEST DENVER AND URBAN RENEWAL

According to Magdalena Gallegos, "In the late Sixties [many of] the people in the neighborhood did not know what was being planned for them until the decision had already been made."⁴⁹ While the political machines like CCHE and DURA had been working to create new institutions and place them in a permanent location, the people affected the most had no say and claimed they were unaware of what was taking place. Because of this, the news of the demolition area and new campus came as a huge shock. In the process of designating west Denver as the new site for the educational park, the project became known as the "Auraria Project" to the agencies involved with the process. For years west Denver had been its own little world, separate from the rest of Denver. It was hard for the people to relate to the name "Auraria" for their neighborhood because the area had been, for many, their west-side barrio for generations. According to Lupe Arguello in "History of the Hispanic Settlers in Auraria," "The first time people in the neighborhood heard about the relocation was when leaflets were passed out to every house."⁵⁰ Indeed, there are no

⁴⁹ Gallegos, "History of the Hispanic Settlers in Auraria," p. 28.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Gallegos, "History of the Hispanic Settlers in Auraria," pp. 28-29.

records of DURA contact with the area's citizens until after the CCHE received the federal grant in mid-1969.

Residents in the neighborhood looked frantically toward local leaders for a solution to the impending neighborhood demolition. Father Pete Caldenty, Assistant Pastor of St. Cajetan's Catholic Church, stepped in as the leader of the people in the neighborhood. St. Cajetan's Catholic Church became the center of resistance for the citizens of Auraria. In order to stop the campus, the people of the neighborhood had to sway the November 1969 vote to reject the perspective campus. Many interested organizations created the Westside Coalition and it acted as the leading group of resistance. While the first objective of the group was to sway the vote, the Westside Coalition took on many activities in the west Denver area, not just concerning Auraria, but Chicano rights in Denver and the nation.⁵¹

The Westside Coalition concern for Chicano rights was part of a national movement. In the 1960s, after two decades of national efforts for equal rights, the Mexican Americans launched a distinct phase of the national civil rights movement that included the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) and the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASO). The United Farm Workers Union (UFW), organized by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta in California in 1962,

⁵¹ George Jr. Rivera, Aileen F. Lucero, and Richard Castro. "Internal Colonialism in Colorado: The Westside Coalition and Barrio Control." In *La Gente: Hispano History and Life in Colorado*. Ed. Vincent C. DeBaca (Denver, CO: Colorado Historical Society, 1998), pp. 205-210. For more information about the Westside Coalition and Chicano Rights refer to this article.

was instrumental in publicizing the plight of Hispanics to a national public. The UFW used nonviolent tactics and ethnic symbols, such as the Aztec eagle flag, to attract members and publicity. In the late 1960s, Mexican American organizations, like the UFW turned to litigation as an instrument for political mobilization and incorporation.⁵² The Westside Coalition was among these groups in support of the Auraria citizens and other Denver concerns.

All concerned parties and neighborhood groups in the area worked together as the crusade went on to save Auraria as a neighborhood. The residents campaigned all over the city in the months leading up to the special bond election. Some residents claimed that a few city planners provided them with information to help their cause.⁵³ Several resident accounts in Gallegos's work gave no mention of DURA meetings in the basement of St. Cajetan's.

DURA officials invited the community to meetings in the basement of St. Cajetan's Catholic Church. At the October 1969 meetings, according to resident accounts, the city officials informed the people that while they needed to move out of the neighborhood, they could relocate to a different part of the city and remain together.⁵⁴ DURA officials at the October meetings reviewed the relocation process with the residents, but made no promises of remaining together. The officials assured

⁵² S. Dale McLemore and Harriett D. Romo, *Racial and Ethnic Relation in America* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998 ed.), pp. 217-218.

⁵³ Gallegos, "History of the Hispanic Settler in Auraria," p. 29.

⁵⁴ While many of the residents in Gallegos's work made claim to the alleged promise by city officials, I have found no written evidence to confirm their claims claim.

the residents, in the event the bond issue passed, that DURA would provide assistance to the residents and businessmen of the neighborhood. DURA officials recognized the concerns and stress of the area residents and assured that they would make the transitions as smooth as possible. The agency opened an office at 1056 Ninth Street, which served as DURA's base of operations for both contacting residents and administering the project.⁵⁵

The debate became very heated around the city in the last few weeks of October and first week of November 1969. Newspaper articles and editorials presented several arguments and sides to the prospective families being displaced in order to build a college campus in the heart of Denver. Some Denver metropolitan area residents encouraged the advantage of the campus for the area's residents. In a letter to "The Open Forum" in the *Denver Post*, one Denver resident argued, "By far the biggest single employer of the West Side community within a few years will be Metro State College if it is located in Auraria." The letter acknowledged problems with the project, but encouraged that, "the opportunities should far outstrip the disadvantages."⁵⁶ While many people around the city recognized the problems of the Auraria people, many did not sympathize because of the poor shape of the neighborhood. *Denver Post* Staff Writer Dick Johnston wrote,

For too many years, the Hispanos have been a politically fragmented "invisible" minority. The living environment of the west side has gradually been eroded by deteriorating housing, by flight of shopping

⁵⁵ McEncroe, *Denver Renewed*, pp. 508-509.

⁵⁶ Frederick G. Bonfils, "The Open Forum," *Denver Post*, 3 November 1969, p. 19.

facilities to more prosperous areas, by invasion of commercial and industrial developments, and by increasing traffic volumes through it.⁵⁷

It was no secret throughout Denver that the neighborhood proposed for demolition was in need of much repair. Located directly across from the Skyline Project on the east side of Speer Boulevard, the west side of Denver was a prime target for urban renewal. Most of the houses were deteriorating, and many of the residents had absolutely no means of financing repair. Many of the neighborhood's businesses suffered, while others closed their doors. Over the years the neighborhood had become a sore spot on the edge of the city, and there were opinions flying from every direction in the fall of 1969 as to what should become of west Denver.

Everyone seemed to have an opinion concerning the proposed Auraria campus. The papers were filled with arguments for why Auraria campus was a good idea, the benefits of demolishing the neighborhood, and what great outcomes could result from building the educational park in the Auraria location. Mayor William H. McNichols, Jr., while showing some concern for the residents of the area, acknowledged that the area was in bad shape. When asked why Auraria was chosen as the site for the new education complex, he noted its central location and pointed out that, "... Auraria is a deteriorating area. That's not an indictment against the people in the area; it's a plain fact."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Dick Johnston, "Is Auraria Key to Checking Denver's Decline as a Core City?" *Denver Post*, 2 November 1969, p. 1 (Perspective Section).

⁵⁸ "McNichols Answers Question on Auraria," *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 November 1969, p. 5.

Emphasis on the centrality of location existed in every piece of Auraria pro-campus and pro-demolition propaganda. Several newspaper articles and flyers displayed maps showing how central the location was to the whole Denver metropolitan community. Groups like the Citizens for Auraria, a pro-campus organization, provided information to the citizens of the Denver metropolitan area in advertisements in both major newspapers in the city. One advertisement pointed out the numerous advantages and need for the college campus for the metropolitan area by stating, "The site is central. It's easy to reach from anywhere in Denver."⁵⁹ A different advertisement from the same group broke down what would happen to the people in the Auraria neighborhood, but the information made the situation seem very impersonal. The advertisement claimed, "property owners will receive fair market value of their property."⁶⁰ While some political figures may have shown some compassion for the people in the neighborhood, the propaganda could be quite brutal.

The residents of the neighborhood and political figures were not the only groups that had a stake in the outcome. Metropolitan State College of Denver had accumulated a large number of students eager for a permanent home. One MSCD sophomore argued in the *Denver Post* that Auraria was the perfect location for the campus. The student pointed out that there had been many other possible locations

⁵⁹ "Vote for Auraria Amendment #1." Auraria Campus Advertisement. Denver: CO: Citizens for Auraria. 1969. Appeared several times in *Rocky Mountain News* and *Denver Post* in 1969.

⁶⁰ "Why Denver Needs the Auraria Center." Auraria Campus Advertisement. Denver: CO: Citizens for Auraria. 1969. Appeared several times in *Rocky Mountain News* and *Denver Post* in 1969.

examined, but the Auraria site fit the goals for a central urban location. Also included in the student's debate was the fact that if the citizens of Denver rejected Auraria the city would lose the \$12.6 million in federal funds allocated to the project. Like many of the proponents of the campus, the student manifested little sympathy for the residents of the area. Instead the student focused on the political and financial benefits for building the new campus in the Auraria location. He not only pointed out the potential for the current students, but people of all races all over the Denver metropolitan area. The student asserted, "If blacks and Hispanos of Denver –and of the whole nation- are ever going to gain equal footing in this society, they will need doctors, lawyers, businessmen and other professionals to enrich and serve their community."⁶¹ Many of those in favor of the college campus used the education argument against the Auraria residents. By encouraging minorities to become better educated, the people in favor of building the campus encouraged the rest of the Denver area to sacrifice one group for a better future for the whole. The student proceeded, "Those people who oppose Auraria ostensibly because they have the best interests of the Hispano community at heart are either incredibly short-sighted or more interested in personal political gain than in helping these people."⁶² According to those advocates for the campus, it was in the best interest of everyone, including those displaced by its creation and construction.

⁶¹ Dave Ball, "Metro Student Defends Auraria," *Denver Post*, 1 November 1969. p. 12.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 12.

Even though many people in the metropolitan area favored the Auraria campus proposal, residents kept fighting and petitioning to save their neighborhood. Up until a week before the vote, the people of west Denver believed that their efforts were paying off in the position of the voters. The special bond election was set to take place on Tuesday, November 4, 1969. It appeared as though everything was going in favor of the voters' rejecting the bond issue until Denver's Archbishop James V. Casey sent a letter to all of the Catholic churches in Denver one week before the vote. In the letter, read at every Sunday service in the area, Archbishop Casey encouraged all parishioners to vote in favor of the bond issue regardless of the displaced families and individuals. Catholic residents of the Auraria area saw his gesture as a huge blow to the efforts of the residents to save their neighborhood. "When we heard that the most reverend had endorsed the Auraria project, we felt a terrible let-down, a sense of being forgotten, of being pushed aside by this person we had always looked up to as one of our beloved spiritual leaders," one woman wrote in a letter just one day before the vote.⁶³ According to her letter, Reverend James Purfield, then chairman of the archbishop's human relations committee, claimed the archbishop's first obligation was to Catholic education.⁶⁴ Many in Auraria believed his "obligation" helped sway voters and in turn directly impacted the Tuesday vote results.

⁶³ Mrs. Germaine Aragon, "Concern of Chicanos For Auraria Homes," (letter to The Open Forum) *Denver Post*, 3 November 1969. p. 19.

⁶⁴*Ibid*, p. 19.

Sixty-one thousand voters in the Denver metropolitan area turned out on Tuesday, November 4, 1969, for the special bond election. Out of the 61,000 voters, the Auraria bond won by a margin of 3,773 votes. It was a devastating defeat for the residents, but a huge victory for the efforts of DURA, AHEC, and the CCHE.

Debate from all different groups including the residents of Auraria, members of the legislature, and other residents of Denver existed after the results of the vote became public. Although the citizens of the Denver metropolitan area voted in favor of the Auraria Project by only a small margin, the legislature still needed persuasion to follow through with the project. Within two days after the vote Mayor McNichols claimed, "I intend to do anything possible to influence anybody in the House and the Senate to get them to approve the \$5.6 million appropriation."⁶⁵ CCHE presented the request to the Joint Budget Committee in its 1970-1971 budgets, guaranteeing that the \$5.6 million request was the only monetary request from their group for the commission that year.⁶⁶

In January 1970, Governor John Love then created the Auraria Higher Education Center (AHEC), whose board would act as landlord and mediator. While AHEC had the responsibility of resident communications and planning, DURA maintained the urban renewal duties, and the CCHE dealt with the institutions.

⁶⁵ Don Lyle, "Mayor Vows Auraria Follow Through," *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 November 1969. p. 8.

⁶⁶ Dick Johnson, "Commission to Request \$5.6 Million for Auraria," *Denver Post*, 7 November 1969. p. 52. and Richard Tucker, "CCHE to Seek Auraria Project Funds," *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 November 1969, pp. 5 & 6.

DURA did, however, provide information to the residents after AHEC's creation, and worked to set relocation into motion. The Authority sent informational packets to the residents and businessmen of the area requiring relocation. The packets, provided only in English to the mainly Hispanic residents, began by explaining the general goals of urban renewal and providing a map of the designated urban renewal area. The rest of the packet written for the residents and businessmen contained details and stipulations as to when they needed to move, the monetary compensation available, and how to obtain compensations. Categories broke down each detail and answered virtually any questions DURA believed the residents or businessmen may have. Information provided in the packets detailed the required physical conditions of new housing for the residents in order to assure safety and happiness with their new homes.⁶⁷ According to the informational packet,

Displaced families and individuals may be eligible for either (1) a payment to cover actual reasonable moving expenses; or (2) a fixed moving expense allowance not to exceed \$300, plus a Dislocation Allowance of \$200. In addition, a payment not to exceed \$15,000 is available to eligible displaced homeowners in the purchase of a replacement dwelling unit and a payment not to exceed \$4000 is available to eligible displaced tenants and certain homeowners to assist in the rental of a replacement dwelling unit or for use as a down-payment on the purchase of a replacement dwelling.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ "Informational Notice to All Families and Individuals Living in the Auraria Urban Renewal Project." and "Informational Statement for Business Concern and Other Nonresidential Establishments in the Auraria Urban Renewal Project." In the Denver Urban Renewal Authority. 1976. Records, 1958-1974. Box 4, FF15. Manuscript collection. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

⁶⁸ "Informational Notice to All Families and Individuals Living in the Auraria Urban Renewal Project." *Denver Urban Renewal Authority. 1976. Records, 1958-1974. Box 4, FF15. Manuscript collection. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.*

Similar instructions provided businessmen with information about monetary compensation.

Displaced business concerns may be eligible for either (1) a payment to cover actual reasonable moving expenses in searching for a replacement location; or (2) in certain cases, a fixed payment equal to the business concern's average annual net earnings, but no less \$2,500 nor more than \$10,000.⁶⁹

Mention of the word "reasonable" occurred several times in both packets without clarifying the definition of reasonable according to DURA. Those families merely renting in the neighborhood were offered some compensation, but were often evicted by the homeowner. With notice sent out to the residents and business owners DURA started to buy up vacant land in the area. Two years prior, in 1968, land in the neighborhood sold at about \$10-\$25 per square foot, but home and business owners in the neighborhood received \$1.45 per square foot,⁷⁰ far from fair market value before the site's designation.

Angry and ready to resist, the residents of Auraria formally organized the Auraria Residents Organization, Inc. (ARO) under leadership from Father Garcia and the West Side Coalition.⁷¹ CCHE responded to the new group by creating a

⁶⁹ "Informational Statement for Business Concern and Other Nonresidential Establishments in the Auraria Urban Renewal Project." *Denver Urban Renewal Authority. 1976. Records, 1958-1974. Box 4, FF15. Manuscript collection. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.*

⁷⁰ Abbott, *Auraria Higher Education Center*, p. 54.

⁷¹ George Jr. Rivera, Aileen F. Lucero, and Richard Castro. "Internal Colonialism in Colorado: The Westside Coalition and Barrio Control." In *La Gente: Hispano History and Life in Colorado*. Ed. Vincent C. DeBaca (Denver, CO: Colorado Historical Society, 1998), p. 208. Gallegos indicates in *History of the Hispanic Settlers in Auraria*, p. 29, that the ARO was formally established before the vote.

Committee on Community Involvement and appointed community representatives to become regular participants of discussion.⁷² The ARO, in response to an earlier survey conducted by MSCD students, submitted their "Preliminary Analysis of the Survey by the Auraria Residents Organization" in January 1969. In their survey the ARO explains,

The purpose of the group is: (1) to organize the residents of the area; (2) disperse information regarding the proposed higher education complex and urban renewal project; (3) see that all the residents of Auraria are properly relocated according to their needs and preferences; and (4) provide alternative proposals to the existing college plans (eg. housing on the site).⁷³

Members of the ARO conducted the survey and gave information regarding who lived in the area, what the concerns were with moving, and their demands to DURA. Written text and tables provided details of the residents in statistical numbers, rather than individual cases.

In response to the ARO's survey DURA agreed to answer several questions and concerns about the Auraria project. Many of the questions and answers reiterated the information provided in the informational packets submitted to the residents and business owners, but DURA held the responsibility of answering face to face rather than in a formal letter. Instead of merely providing details of residential and business

⁷² Abbott, *The Auraria Higher Education Center*, p. 65.

⁷³ "Preliminary Analysis of the Survey Conducted by the Auraria Residents Organization. January 16, 1970." p. 1. *Denver Urban Renewal Authority. Records, 1958-1974. Box 4, FF4. Manuscript Collection. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.*

relocation, DURA answered questions justifying the necessity of a new college campus. Their response stated,

It is a fact that tuition and other costs for attending state-supported colleges and universities in Colorado are high. Many of the students can't afford to attend these institutions. The Auraria idea is to bring education costs within the reach of everyone. Its colleges will offer educational programs to all levels for all people.

In response to questions concerning cost of schooling at MSCD, DURA answered,

"At present, education costs, which include tuition, fees and books amount to approximately \$400 a year."⁷⁴ Residents received another formal letter signed by J. Robert Cameron, Executive Director, Denver Urban Renewal Authority dated April 2, 1970. Cameron assured residents and businesses that immediate evacuation was not the goal. He claimed that purchase and relocation activity would not take place until about May or June of 1971. As to the monetary compensations, Cameron stated, "The purchase price of your property will be established by two independent appraisals made by Denver appraisal firms. You will be offered a price that relates to existing market value of your property."⁷⁵

In February of 1970 the Auraria Businessmen Against Confiscation filed suit before the State Supreme Court alleging that the Denver bond vote had been illegal,

⁷⁴ "Questions and Answers. Auraria." p. 6. *Denver Urban Renewal Authority. 1976. Records, 1958-1974. Box 4, FF2. Manuscript collection. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.* I have heard from many sources that education at Metro was supposed to be free for former residents of Auraria. This is the only document I have found providing any reference to costs of tuition directly relating to the residents.

⁷⁵ Letter to the residents and businessmen in Auraria. *Denver Urban Renewal Authority. 1976. Records, 1958-1974. Box 4, FF15. Manuscript collection. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.*

but their attempt was not successful. The ARO decided to take their complaints to the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington, D.C. and demanded compensation for the residents. Both the state and national courts confirmed the legality of the November 1969 bond issue. In May 1971 Denver City and County approved DURA's finalized plans for the Auraria Project of acquisition, relocation, and clearance.⁷⁶ DURA continued purchase of the land properties, as well as relocating current residents. One resident, Isabel Ramos, owned three houses in the neighborhood and only received \$35,000 for all three properties.⁷⁷ DURA kept its promise to provide funds for relocation, even to renters, but, because some houses were in violation of building codes, landlords started to evict their tenants rather than repair the problems. Those evicted tenants were not eligible to receive relocation compensation and left their homes without help. As plans for the Auraria Higher Education Center continued, the residents still resisted. One of the last great efforts of the ARO came in 1972 when the group threatened to set up a "tent city" in Auraria as a protest against the excessive number of evictions and also to demand residents receive more funds. Their threats went unanswered, and demolition began.

⁷⁶ McEncroe, *Denver Renewed*, p. 519-521.

⁷⁷ Gallegos, *History of the Hispanic Settlers in Auraria*, p. 30.

CHAPTER SIX

A NEW CAMPUS WITH A FEW OLD BUILDINGS

Auraria residents reluctantly left the neighborhood in which many had grown up. Although they had lost their battle against urban renewal, they had fought to let the politicians know they were not going to simply give up on their deteriorated neighborhood. Many of the residents moved close by the Auraria neighborhood, and others a little further west of the area. One of the most difficult things for the majority of the displaced Hispanic residents to leave behind was St. Cajetan's Catholic Church. In their efforts to save the neighborhood in its entirety, the parishioners of St. Cajetan's along with the ARO had succeeded in their fight to save their beloved church. The preservation St. Cajetan's Catholic Church was not a major concern for local preservationists, but the parishioners would not stand for its demolition.

As DURA was making plans for demolition and construction on the designated area, the parishioners succeed in preservation efforts concerning St. Cajetan's Catholic Church. Initially the parishioners concentrated on salvaging the entire neighborhood, but they also wanted to preserve their cultural center. While the actual parish was not salvaged, the building received placement on the National Register of Historic Places and a Denver Landmark Preservation Commission

landmark. Demolition of both the church's school and credit union took place, but the formal designations forced DURA to save the building and design construction plans around the existing location. In order to help keep the old community together in some way, the parishioners of St. Cajetan's Church opened a new St. Cajetan in Southwest Denver at 99 South Raleigh Street. The new church opened in 1975 and still serves as the Spanish National Church in Denver.⁷⁸

With the original news of the possible demolition of the Auraria neighborhood the parishioners and officials at St. Elizabeth Catholic Church began to buy up all of the land in the surrounding area in order to save the church from the wrecking ball. DURA did not meet the preservation efforts with much dissent. In their original "Metropolitan State College Site Report," the authority acknowledged that twenty acres included in the total square footage of the Auraria Project were areas used for church and street property.⁷⁹ Brother Adrian, O.F.M. of the Sacred Heart province designed the church, built in 1898, in the German Gothic style. It received placement on the National Register of Historic Places and a Denver Landmark Preservation Commission landmark in 1969. Like the St. Cajetan's school, the St. Elizabeth's school was demolished. The parishioners of St. Elizabeth's Catholic Church were not only successful in their preservation efforts for the church, they also retained use of

⁷⁸ Thomas J. Noel, *Colorado Catholicism and the Archdiocese of Denver, 1857-1989*. (Denver, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1989), pp. 344-345.

⁷⁹ "Metropolitan State College Site Selection Report." Appendix I. *Denver Urban Renewal Authority. 1976. Records, 1958-1974. Box 4, FF3. Manuscript Collection. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.*

the church. They started their efforts early with a much different agenda from the St. Cajetan's parishioners. Most of the parishioners of St. Elizabeth had moved out of the area years before the proposed campus. The majority did not try to save the neighborhood, only their church. Saint Elizabeth Catholic Church is still an active parish to this day.

Although a very small structure, the Emmanuel Shearith Israel Chapel did not fall to the wrecking ball of urban renewal in Auraria. Known as west Denver's oldest extant structure, the small stone chapel features a mixture of Romanesque and Gothic architecture. Built in 1876 by Bishop John F. Spaulding as an Episcopalian chapel, the church was originally known as Emmanuel Episcopal. As the parishioners moved out of west Denver, there was little need for the Episcopal church. The congregation of Israel purchased the church in 1903 and converted into a synagogue. Later, in 1963, the synagogue sold the building to a private owner who transformed it into an artist's studio. DURA decided to salvage the building and save it to use as an art studio for the new campus. The Emmanuel Shearith Israel Chapel, now commonly known as the Emmanuel Gallery, received placement on the Colorado State Register of Historical Places in 1969.

Local preservationist groups took action in efforts to save some of Auraria's historical treasures. Dana Crawford's newly founded Historic Denver, Inc. took particular interest in a square block of houses located on Ninth Street in the Auraria neighborhood. The fairly new Historic Denver, Inc. sought to save houses from

demolition because the block represented the oldest surviving residential block in Denver. Historic Denver, Inc. chose to fight to salvage fourteen structures with a predicted cost of \$900,000. After succeeding in their efforts on Larimer Street the organization was prepared to work with DURA to create a viable use for the structures. They sought help from all over the Denver community to save the buildings. Many private businesses and foundations, like the Boettcher Foundation and the Gates Foundation, donated large amounts of money toward the cause. Thousands of private donors who invested their interests in preservation also contributed monetarily for the preservation of the historic homes.⁸⁰

Historic Denver, Inc. decided to restore the structures to their original architectural integrity, typifying a modest Denver residential neighborhood spanning from 1873 to 1905. All of the restored buildings have their own distinct characteristics that added to the architectural distinction of the Auraria neighborhood. Historic Denver, Inc. restored the houses to their original appearance and named them for their original occupants. The Ninth Street project also succeeded in preserving and restoring the neighborhood grocery store at the end of the block. The buildings tell a story of the original occupants of the area and their descriptions help place the neighborhood into Denver's history. The homes on Ninth Street typify the architectural style of early homes in Denver. All are modest in size, but each has its own striking little details adding to its appeal. There are two-story, one-story, and

⁸⁰ Historic Denver, Inc. *Ninth Street Park Dedication*. Pamphlet. Denver, CO: August 1, 1976.

one duplex on the block.⁸¹ These homes are significant partially because they are the only reminder of the original Auraria settlement.

After restoration was completed, Historic Denver, Inc. sold 35,660 square feet of office space in the historic structures to AHEC for \$19.20 per square foot.⁸² Historic Denver, Inc. also participated in the efforts to preserve the Tivoli Brewery. In 1969 financial difficulties, labor disputes, and flood damage forced the Tivoli Brewery to close its doors, leaving the building virtually abandoned. Several groups, including Historic Denver, Inc. saw the building not only as a viable historic structure, but also as valuable space for the new college campus. Placement of the Tivoli Brewery on the National Register of Historic Places came in 1973. That same year DURA bought the building with help from federal funds and designated it for educational purposes. AHEC then decided that the costs of renovation were too high and turned the project over to private developers.

The preserved buildings, along with the city streets that swept through the area, forced campus developers to plan buildings around them. Because of the existing design of the area the campus planners set up the campus on the city's grid. Parking lots occupied much of the original demolished space. In October 1973 Auraria held its ground-breaking ceremony. AHEC used the land for parking until they implemented a new building's construction. Formal dedication of the Auraria

⁸¹ Please refer to the appendix for detailed descriptions of the buildings.

⁸² Historic Denver Incorporated. *Ninth Street Park Dedication*. pamphlet. Denver, CO: August 1, 1976.

Higher Education Center took place in January of 1976. By December faculty members occupied buildings on the site. Students from all three institutions, Community College of Denver, Metropolitan State College of Denver, and the University of Colorado at Denver, filled the buildings for the first time.

Over the last thirty years the Auraria campus has grown and expanded with more students and new buildings. Of the preserved structures, the Tivoli now serves as the Student Center with many shops and restaurants to serve the students, faculty, and staff of the AHEC institutions. St. Cajetan's serves as an auditorium, computer lab, and classroom building. The buildings on Ninth Street house many different campus departments and offices, except for the Groussman Store which now serves as a deli (see the appendix for detailed descriptions of the buildings).

While the educational park experiment has been a success in some ways, it has not been easy for the three separate institutions and AHEC to work together. New buildings are still appearing on the campus, and others are planned for the future. One of the biggest controversies that the experiment has introduced is the question of student housing. Very recently CU-Denver had proposed to build student housing just outside the campus's designated area. This proposal enraged several groups including the Displaced Aurarians (formerly the Auraria Residents Organization) and the West-side Outreach Program. The opposing groups are mostly descendents of those involved in the original battle of the late sixties and early seventies. Survival of these groups demonstrates the profound impacts of urban

renewal and the past that Auraria is forced to recognize today. These groups show concern for protecting those who have been affected by urban renewal dislocation in the past. If the campus were to spread beyond its originally designated area, it would encroach upon many of those residents affected by the original Auraria Project. Though the student housing proposal failed, it left a mark on the relationships between the campus institutions and local organizations. Thus, the effects of an urban renewal project that occurred thirty years ago still have an impact on urban politics in Denver today. The Auraria Project in Denver is merely one example of urban renewal and the politics involved with the movement across the United States.

CHAPTER SEVEN

URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS IN OTHER U.S. CITIES

Thousands of urban renewal projects occurred across the country from the 1940s through the 1980s. It is difficult to examine all projects and how they relate to the national movement. The following examples serve as a slice of what was taking place in other major U.S. cities. Urban renewal projects in Detroit, San Antonio, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Chicago are similar to the Auraria project and to each other, but each example is also very different. Each city entered into urban renewal projects at different times, with different motivations, and different sets of actors. While Detroit was concerned with highway construction, the city of St. Louis looked to urban renewal for commercial development. Chicago, similar to St. Louis, used urban renewal in the Hyde Park-Kenwood project, but residents of the area were successful in stopping the demolition of their way of life. San Antonio used urban renewal projects for civic developments, and San Francisco used urban renewal for private development. Urban renewal projects started in each city for different reasons with different effects, but all played key roles in the politics of their cities.

Detroit's Highways

In *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, Thomas J. Sugrue examines the city politics of Detroit, including the urban renewal. According to Sugrue, the city politics of Detroit began to change drastically after World War II. Before World War II, large white populations moved outside Detroit's central city to surrounding suburbs, which created ethnically segregated areas of Detroit and its suburbs. The African-American and lower income families concentrated in the inner city, and the white populations sought direct highway routes across the city, avoiding those areas. Like many of the other major cities in the country, Detroit looked to urban renewal to help alleviate some of the problems many local politicians felt the city was facing, by the late 1940s. Sugrue states, "In the 1950s, they (politicians and scholars) proposed legislation to shore up depressed areas of the nation. But their agenda remained on the fringes of postwar economic policy."⁸³ Detroit politicians were ready to shore up their neighborhoods in the inner city.

Unlike Denver's first major projects like the Skyline and Auraria Projects, Detroit was interested in using urban renewal programs to build cross-city expressways. Unfortunately, significant numbers of African-Americans lived in the path of these expressways. Consequently, by the 1950s the highways had devastated the most populated areas of Detroit. Sugrue states that the Detroit city planners were

⁸³ Sugrue, pp. 5-6.

careful to plan highways to run through lower income and black neighborhoods, not to disrupt any nearby middle-class homes. Detroit used urban renewal methods for highway construction as a “handy device for razing slums.”⁸⁴

Unlike Auraria, announcements for Detroit’s urban renewal areas came years before construction. Residents of the affected area were given seemingly ample notice to sell their property and relocate because the announcement of highway projects came years before their actual construction. The problem was in the early notice itself, because home owners were unable to sell their property and there were very few places for the displaced population to relocate. The postwar highway projects exacerbated the already existent housing crisis that Detroit was facing, especially for the black community in the city. Much like the Auraria Project in Denver, renters suffered the most at the hands of the urban renewal projects in Detroit. Detroit did not have adequate relocation plans for the recently displaced residents. Even with the efforts of the Detroit Housing Commission, there was not enough housing. New high-rise public housing began to replace the deteriorating homes in the demolished slums.

Although city planners promised improved neighborhoods and economy, it seemed that the major concern was easy access across the city for the suburban citizens. The Lodge Freeway was one of the largest highway construction projects in the city. The project, which spanned about seven miles, led to the demolition of

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 47.

2,222 buildings. Similarly, the Edsel Ford Expressway caused the demolition of 2,800 buildings in the 1950s. Although one major project did affect a middle class neighborhood, out of the nine hundred structures cleared between Wyoming and Warren Avenues, seven hundred or so white families were able to move intact to other middle class areas in Detroit, according to Sugrue.⁸⁵ Overall, the growing African-American population in the city felt the effects of urban renewal within Detroit's highway systems far more than any other ethnic group.

The Detroit highway system case is much larger in size than that of the Auraria project, but the stories are very similar. In both cases large numbers of the most prevalent minority group were forced to move from their homes in order to make room for civic projects. In both Denver and Detroit the major groups affected by the urban renewal projects had the smallest voice in the decision. People were forced out of their homes that the state agencies had classified as slums. The cities did not see their neighborhoods as neighborhoods with real people, but desirable land for large projects. The places that they called home were demolished for what some claimed as the better good of the city and state. Instead of helping the residents by providing funds for the maintenance of their neighborhoods, it was easier for the cities to tear down the entire area and force the residents out. Denver's Auraria project and Detroit's highway project have benefited many of their residents—those who attend college on the Denver campus and those who drive the Detroit highways

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 47-51.

to get to work everyday. These projects also had a real negative impact on the residents forced out of their homes. The projects affected each city's overall politics as well. In both cases the state institutions heading the urban renewal movement in the city exercised largely arbitrary power over the poor residents in the city.

San Antonio's International Exhibition

San Antonio also experienced major urban renewal projects similar to the Auraria Project. Carl Abbott explains San Antonio urban renewal in *The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities*. Abbott compares several cities in his 1981 book, including both San Antonio and Denver. According to Abbott, the urban renewal process in San Antonio was tightly controlled by the new establishment of municipal reformers and local businessmen.⁸⁶ Unlike Denver, which gave citizens more of a choice in urban renewal projects, San Antonio's projects were in the hands of businessmen and politicians. Many San Antonio businessmen and politicians claimed that the projects promoted metropolitan growth in San Antonio and would enhance downtown activity in the city.

In order to reduce administrative chaos the San Antonio City Council formed the Good Government League in December 1957. The League's goals were to revitalize the Central Business District and refurbish the image of the city through

⁸⁶ Carl Abbott, *The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), p. 152.

urban renewal. After early efforts from the League, San Antonio approved a city renewal program in December 1957. In the early 1960s, the city proposed a large urban renewal project titled the Central West Project, which designated 68 acres west of the city's courthouse and city hall for demolition. The area, mostly occupied by Hispanic residents, was planned for commercial reuse. Next, San Antonio urban renewal advocates focused their attention on the Rosa Verde Project just north of the Central West Project. The project, intended for housing rehabilitation, was in the vicinity of major hospitals in the city. The city used spot clearance in the area in order to make room for new apartments.⁸⁷

San Antonio was chosen as the future site for the Hemis Fair-International Exhibition, set to arrive in 1968. With the announcement of the coming event, the city underwent another major urban renewal project. The city designated 149 acres southeast of the Alamo as the potential site for the upcoming exhibition. San Antonio's urban renewal authority acquired the land for \$28 million, selling it back to the city for \$3 million. In order to meet its federal funding requirements, the city used a large portion of the 1964 bond issue in order to finance the project. The Hemis Fair Project consisted of building a Civic Center encompassing a theater, arena, and exhibition building. The remainder of the land was to be leased to the Hemis Fair Company.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 152.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 152-153.

West-side Congressman Henry B. Gonzales first publicized the idea of the Hemis Fair Project in 1962. Gonzales gained support when Senator Ralph Yarborough secured federal participation for designation as an official international exhibition site. Soon after, Texas Governor John Connally supported the project by financing a multi-million dollar appropriation from the state. Twenty-six local banks financed \$4.5 million for the operating corporation, and the loan was then secured by pledges of four hundred and eighty businessmen. The project had secured financing to proceed.⁸⁹

The Hemis Fair preceded the Mexico City Olympics, and proponents of the project emphasized the cultural and commercial ties between the United States and Latin America. Although the cultural ties were emphasized, what the proponents did not stress was that many Hispanic families were displaced in the process. The Hemis Fair Project was completed in time to host the exhibition, which drew about six million visitors. After the Hemis Fair International Exhibition closed the space was used for a convention center and federal buildings. The area also became the home to many tourist attractions including the Institute of Texas Cultures and the Tower of Americas.⁹⁰

San Antonio's Hemis Fair project actually compares more with the Skyline Project in Denver than Auraria on some levels. In the Auraria case, the city and other

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p, 153.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p, 153.

state institutions lead the urban renewal project instead of businessmen. Businessmen of the cities spearheaded both the Skyline and Hemis Fair projects for the revitalization of the central business district and ultimately for their own financial motivations. Skyline and Hemis Fair helped in the efforts to bring businesses back to downtown instead of other competing areas in the cities and suburbs. Civic development motivated both the Hemis Fair and Auraria projects, but while the Auraria project stood to benefit the entire area, the intent of the Hemis Fair project focused on one event without a clear plan for the future of the area. The sizes of the areas as well as the people affected by the demolition were similar. In both cases the Hispanic residents of the designated sites paid the biggest price for civic development.

San Francisco's Golden Gate Project

San Francisco is another city that Abbott examines in his book. San Francisco's urban renewal history is quite different from urban renewal in Denver. According to Abbott, the Golden Gateway Center was San Francisco's "key" urban renewal project. The Golden Gateway Center Project focused on private rather than civic development through urban renewal. The project demolished an old warehouse produce market near the ferry terminal. The Embarcadero Complex, which consisted of four "huge" office buildings, a Hyatt Regency Hotel, and high-rise upper-income

housing, replaced the market.⁹¹ The Golden Gateway Project also provided the Bay Area Rapid Transit station, which brought people into the area from all over the city.

C.B. Zellerbach and Charles Blyth, San Francisco industrialists, first proposed the idea of the Golden Gateway Center. The two men provided support for the project by forming a businessmen's committee in 1955. After the committee formed, members advanced funds for the planning stage of the project. Although adjacent building owners to the project area raised complaints regarding unfair competition, the plans were already underway. It took less than six weeks for the redevelopment agency, planning committee, and board of supervisors to approve the final plans in the spring of 1959. The San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association (PURA), a committee formed from the Blyth-Zellerbach Committee in 1959, also backed the Golden Gateway Center project.⁹²

The Golden Gateway Center project helped to trigger private development in the San Francisco financial district in the 1960s. By the end of the 1960s, the Yerba Buena project was the center of urban renewal arguments in the city. Through the Yerba Buena project, the redevelopment agency hoped to demolish eighty-seven acres of cheap hotels, parking lots, and warehouses north of Market Street, replacing them with a convention center and additional offices. According to Abbott,

City officials saw an annual tax increment of \$5.2 million add to the \$3.4 million gain from Golden Gateway, large corporations saw extra facilities for the metropolitan community, members of the Convention

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 149.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 149-150.

and Visitors Bureau saw flush times for owners and employees of hotels, restaurants, entertainment, and professional sports, and the Building and Construction Trades Council saw more jobs.⁹³

This project evicted three thousand low-income elderly and transient residents of the area. Public protests and extensive litigation blocked federal funds in 1968. These resulted in a public agreement in which the redevelopment agency proceeded with the construction of the Yerba project, but the agreement required the agency to add 1,200 housing low-rent housing units for the elderly. Additionally, the agreement required the agency to rehabilitate 1,500 low-income housing units in other parts of the city as part of the agreement.⁹⁴

The San Francisco public did not widely accept urban renewal projects in the 1960s. Although the Yerba Buena project was completed, the efforts of the protestors had more of an impact than those of the residents in west Denver, Detroit, or San Antonio. Unlike residents in the other three cities, the residents in the Yerba project area gained support from other community activists who lobbied the state in protest of the project. In Denver, Detroit, and San Antonio, residents gained little support outside their area. The urban renewal project in San Francisco caused a stir, but it may not have been met with as much contention from the public had the proposed site been intended as a civic development project. Some of the public may found it hard to support a project that displaced thousands of people for the good of private

⁹³ *Ibid*, pp. 150-151.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 151.

interests in the city. Although the city stood to benefit in the long run with increased investment and capital flow into the city, the residents did not feel any immediate impact from the success of local businessmen. It seemed that the favored businessmen gained the most by dislocating low-income and nearly destitute people.

St. Louis's R-11 Folly

Dennis R. Judd and Robert Mendelson examine urban issues in East St. Louis in *The Politics of Urban Planning: The East St. Louis Experience*. Urban renewal in East St. Louis started to take form in the last 1950s. Although the city appointed a new position of city planning director, urban renewal remained the responsibility of the local housing authority. In 1959 forty-nine acres of deteriorated housing and commercial facilities were cleared in the Illinois R-11 urban renewal project. The project found support from both a community development program and a coalition of neighborhood groups assisted by business interests. The project, while initially successful in clearance of the area was not successful in development. The Illinois R-11 area was originally designated for commercial development as an extension of the St. Louis downtown business district. All but thirty percent of the area was left undeveloped as of the early 1970s. The designated development did not attract developers.

The city council had marketed the R-11 area unsuccessfully for five years. Due to the lack of success, the city, along with suggestions from several local

businessmen, decided to bring the urban renewal function back into the city administration from the housing authority. In 1964 the city hired Edwin Denman, a former urban renewal director in an Indiana city, as their new urban renewal and planning director. His primary concern was to bring success to the R-11 project. He hired a consulting firm from New Jersey to prepare a master plan for the area which was completed several years after his appointment. Only two years after his appointment, the business and banking interests of the city united to form the Progress Action by Citizens Efforts (PACE). Members of PACE had become very impatient and skeptical with the results of urban renewal in St. Louis. The group's primary concern was the economic future of the city. The city government had failed in efforts to stop the declining property values and the members of PACE were feeling the effects in their businesses. Taking their own initiative for the R-11 project, PACE hired a local architectural firm and planning firm to develop a plan for the city, including the R-11 project. Their final plans were quite extravagant, suggesting large-scale clearance of existing residential areas only to be replaced with commercial, residential, and entertainment areas. This plan also failed to attract developers to the R-11 area.

PACE realized that there was little future for commercial development of the area and proposed using the area for housing. The city did not respond. At the same time the city hired a local realtor to market the land, but the attempt failed to make a sale. It seemed that urban renewal was not going to have any success in East St.

Louis, despite the efforts of PACE and the city. The project was not made feasible until a 1970 decision to place more public housing in the area. The city cleared out forty-nine acres of low-income housing in the R-11 project area and built a new motel, a federal building, an expansion of an existing hospital, and public housing.⁹⁵

Unlike the other projects examined, St. Louis did not have a plan for the R-11 area other than to demolish it and dislocate its businesses and residents. The project, obviously unsuccessful, was very different from the Auraria project. St. Louis used urban renewal as a tool to demolish an area, just as in the Auraria project, but that was it. It was not until PACE became involved that any progress took place in the development of the R-11 area. Developers deemed the area undesirable even after the demolition of the existing properties. Denver sought the Auraria site because of its desirable location, and clear plans were set for the future of the site before demolition began in the area. St. Louis may have learned from the R-11 project, but the lesson was very different than that learned from the Auraria project.

Mass Renewal in One Chicago Area

Urban renewal in Chicago, one of the nation's largest cities, affected several areas of the city. In *The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Businesses: the Hyde Park-Kenwood Case*, Brian J. L. Berry, Sandra J. Parsons, and Rutherford H. Platt

⁹⁵ Dennis R. Judd and Robert E. Mendelson. *The Politics of Urban Planning: The East St. Louis Experience* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973), pp. 47-49.

examine one large area affected by urban renewal. The authors, while looking at the total impact of the area, detail every case in each smaller area of the Hyde Park-Kenwood area. As part of the overall plan for the large area, the Kimbark Plaza emerged as a novel experiment proving to be of importance and significance to commercial planning elsewhere. Plans for the experiment were underway in 1956 after the initial *A* and *B* plans for the area were already in motion. According to the authors, the Kimbark Plaza area comprised eight hundred and fifty-five acres, containing thirty-one hundred structures, and housing sixty-five thousand people. The goal of the plan was not to dislocate the existing community and businesses, but to "conserve" the area and therefore to use clearance selectively. The Preliminary Plan called for the thorough clearance of an entire block, and the relocation of another. When added to existing clearance plans in the larger area, the overall clearance anticipated by the plan would eliminate an entire "commercial rectangle" in the area.

While the plan called for the vacancy of one hundred and twelve businesses, there was a provision in the Preliminary Plan for the restoration of a limited amount of commercial space to the community. This was an effort to help the displaced citizens and also to avoid depriving sixty-five thousand people in the neighborhood of their neighborhood walk-in stores. After initial efforts, the plan designated ten scattered sites for commercial redevelopment. The Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) received the plans in August of 1956 and approved them approved

that December. This measure enabled the local merchants to maintain their businesses. The only opposition came from chain-stores that claimed the decision favored the small merchants. Either way, the local demand to keep small businesses prevailed in the Kimbark Plaza project in Chicago.⁹⁶

Residents in Chicago, like those in San Francisco, exercised their voices against city urban renewal politics. They also successfully preserved some of their neighborhood and way of life. Urban renewal in the Hyde Park-Kenwood case affected a much larger population than that of any other city examined. This may explain the effect of their voice in the political decisions for their area. The residents and businessmen of Auraria, a much smaller group in comparison, did not fall upon deaf ears in Denver, but their efforts did not have the same impact as in the Chicago project. Chicago's residents fought not only to save their neighborhood, but the integrity of the area. Denver deemed Auraria a slum, but the city of Chicago saw the Hyde Park-Kenwood area as a prime commercial area, not necessarily a blight on the city landscape.

Project Distinctions

No matter which city is examined in the United States, urban renewal played out in different ways. Preservation played a crucial role in the Auraria case, unlike

⁹⁶ Brian J. L. Berry, Sandra J. Parsons, and Rutherford H. Platt, *The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Businesses: The Hyde Park-Kenwood Case* (Chicago: The Center for Urban Studies, The University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 48-52.

many other cities. Although buildings on the Auraria site had deteriorated over the years, people like Dana Crawford, fought to save the historical treasures for generations to come. In most other cases, like the highway projects in Detroit, the public paid little attention to the buildings on the demolished areas. Deteriorated buildings made them candidates for demolition, regardless of the historical or architectural significance. Most likely, demolition of many of the nation's historic treasures took place during urban renewal projects. Times are different now, and what may have been thought of as deteriorating during the urban renewal era is now often considered a historic treasure lost at the hands of urban renewal. Not every building preserved needs a famous name or event to justify its importance. Denver, with the efforts of preservation groups, preserved some of the city's simple structures to offer future generations a broader story.

Preservation has not been the only difference in urban renewal projects across the country. Some projects were designed for civic development, while others reflected more concern with the commercial side of development. Whether designated for a college campus or commercial park, every urban renewal project produced a new group of heroes and victims, according to various perspectives. Although not every project affected a large number of families or residents living in the area, someone always felt the impact. Businesses, especially small ones, suffered due to urban renewal projects in every major city regardless of the size of the project. Many of those businesses did not survive the effects of dislocation and never opened

their doors in a different location. The small businessmen in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area did not feel the effects as did those in the Auraria neighborhood or the Golden Gate Center area. While the Chicago businessmen opened their doors after urban renewal swept through their area, their counterparts in other cities watched their buildings fall to the wrecking ball. Residents all over the country saw their homes (filled with memories) tumble at the hand of urban renewal.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: THE LASTING LEGACY OF URBAN RENEWAL

Urban renewal is complicated. Not every project worked just as the city or locality planned, but some projects have been more successful than originally anticipated. St. Louis dropped the ball on the R-11 project, while residents of Detroit travel the city's highways everyday. No city could claim that any of its urban renewal projects went exactly according to plan. Every city met the concept and projects with different ideas and executions of those ideas. Some urban renewal agencies were practically met with open arms from the majority of the city's residents, while others were met with contention on different levels and by different groups. Groups opposed urban renewal projects for different reasons. Some tried to save their homes and businesses, while others were not willing to fund the projects for their city. Regardless of the reasons for opposition, some groups found success in their efforts, while others were forced to leave their homes behind.

Many affected groups, like the residents of Auraria, were Hispanic and an ethnic minority group within their cities. Although many of the groups did not find success initially in their efforts against urban renewal, their efforts played a key role in the urban politics of many major U.S. cities. The Chicano civil rights movement succeeded in increasing the group's political rights in cities all over the country.

Several of the country's major cities experienced increased political footing within Hispanic populations as a result of the movement's efforts, and a rise in Hispanic population all over the country. According to Mike Davis in *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the U.S. City*, by the early 1990s, Hispanic populations have outnumbered African-American populations in six major cities. Hispanics, as the "majority-minority" group, have exercised political powers in cities all over the country, including Denver.⁹⁷ Their influence on urban politics has changed and increased, partially due to their organizing efforts in the fight against urban renewal.

The politics of urban renewal are too complex to summarize one side or another when examining a particular project. This is not to say that Frank Abbott and Magdalena Gallegos did not tell some version of the "truth" in their accounts of the Auraria project. However, each told a version from a single perspective, or in Gallegos's case, the version of the story from the residents' perspectives. Together, and supplemented with a good bit of additional research, their accounts help draw a more clearly defined picture of what took place.

The Auraria residents were not passive victims, although it may be easier to tell a story of neighborhood pride and unity after a neighborhood no longer exists. People often have an unintended tendency to romanticize the past when reflecting upon it. It is important to remember that the residents' accounts were recorded after the battle, and after they were displaced by the campus. Had interviews taken place

⁹⁷ Mike Davis, *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the U.S. City* (New York: Verso, 2000), p. 2.

before the idea of displacement, their recorded story of the area may have been quite different. Their stories are important in understanding the effects of the Auraria campus on the displaced residents, but it is crucial not to take every word as absolute truth.

In the same respect, AHEC commissioned Abbott to write an institutional history. His primary concern was to glorify the success of the institution. He was not, however, concerned with incorporating the story of the residents. The CCHE, AHEC, and DURA are neither the heroes whom Abbott describes or the villains whom displaced Aurarians describe. Each of these three institutions carried out its plans for an urban renewal project, resulting in a college campus. Although the institutions did take the concerns of the residents into some consideration, none were interested in salvaging the neighborhood. In several cases the residents were treated as statistics, but DURA made a concerted effort to conduct face-to-face sessions with the residents. The authority also tried to compensate the residents as best as possible. Unfortunately, the majority of the residents did not benefit from their efforts because they were renters, not owners. This is not the fault of DURA; it is just a part of the complicated situation.

The educational park experiment has provided a place of education for many tens of thousands of Denver area residents in the past thirty years. Although the project came at the cost of the homes and businesses of many residents of west Denver, the project is a huge success for the city and state institutions, in addition to

Denver metropolitan area residents. While some of the propaganda in favor of the campus may have been extremely biased, some of its arguments made good points. Auraria campus has served as a great resource for the metropolitan area. MSCD has opened the door of education to many who may not have sought higher education elsewhere. The educational park experiment has brought a wide variety of students to the campus, adding to the whole experience. Auraria has become an exceptional setting for higher education in the state of Colorado.

Preservation of historical buildings on the Auraria Campus adds to the site's distinction in the Denver area and the country. Although the different preservation groups worked separately in the efforts, their similar goals enriched the campus setting. Historic Denver, Inc. not only sought to save Ninth Street for the architectural and historical integrity of the buildings, but also for functional use. The group received money from other resources to preserve the houses for office space, and then they sold the space to AHEC and turned a profit in the end. The parishioners of St. Cajetan's, while losing their homes, saved their church. AHEC uses St. Cajetan's as an auditorium and classroom, but it also serves as a symbol of the battle against the campus. The parishioners of St. Elizabeth Catholic Church make their way to mass every week. Auraria Campus is often symbolized by the Tivoli, the largest and most distinctive building. Without the efforts of the different groups, with their similar goals, the historic treasures may have been lost to wear and tear over time, if they survived wrecking crews.

People and politics are difficult to comprehend. This is only one study of one example of urban politics in the United States, but it attempts a balanced interpretation of a complicated situation by giving credence to multiple voices and sources of evidence. The Auraria story not only demonstrates urban politics in action and in impacts, but it also offers an interpretation of the landscape that students and Denverites see every day: a new campus with a few old buildings. Every area has its own story to tell for those who seek it out.

APPENDIX A

NINTH STREET RESTORED STRUCTURES

The Groussman Store, owned by a Jewish family, is located at 900 Curtis Street. The commercial structure, designed by F.C. Eberly, who also designed the Tivoli Brewery, was built in 1906 for Albert B. Groussman and his wife, Belle. It represents turn-of-the-century commercial architecture in Denver. The Groussman Store is a red brick building with an elaborate parapeted roof of globes.⁹⁸

Very little is known about one lonely house on the block located at 1061 Ninth Street. It is believed that the Italianate structure was built in 1874. The house has simple proportions with classic lines, and a porch was added to the original structure.

The Rundle House, located at 1059 Ninth Street, was built in 1880 for William B. Rundle, the manager of the Colorado Electric Company. The house was originally a one-story, brick building. Sometime between the original construction and 1890 a second story and mansard roof designed by Frank E. Edbrooke, one of Denver's premier architects, was added. Metal panels and dormer windows now puncture the mansard roof, which once established angular patterns. The porch, Victorian in style, has a porch screen in Philadelphia lattice.

⁹⁸ "A Walking Tour of Auraria." Pamphlet.

The Young House, located at 1051 Ninth Street, is an example of the classic cottage. It has a central dormer window, a tall chimney, neoclassical posts, and a hip roof. The shingled roof contains metalwork along the ridges, and the house uses classical dentil detailing.

The Shultz House, the only double on the block, is located at 1045/1047 Ninth Street. J.J. Brackus for William Schultz, the bookkeeper for the Milwaukee Brewery, designed the house, which was built for \$3,700. The two-story double was originally constructed with brick but has been covered over with stucco. A lot of detailing was lost over the years, including a metal cornice along the roof. There are three-dimensional brackets on the porch posts, produced by various milled and turned elements.

The Wheeler Griebing House, located at 1041 Ninth Street, is the most striking Italianate on the block. With tall bays extending to the height and long windows, this house certainly stands out. It has decorative details and a simple flower scroll. A mansard roof above the kitchen was added in 1907. The most striking detail of the house is wonderful iron cresting along the roofline.

The Gardner House, located at 1033 Ninth Street was built in 1873. It is one of only two frame structures on the block. The house has an L-shaped floor plan, iron cresting, and roof molding. Framing located in the angle of the floor plan supports its shingled tower.

One of the oldest houses on the block is located at 1068 Ninth Street. Built circa 1873, The Davis House is a lovely Italianate villa. It has a full porch across the front with "Gothic" carpenter detailing. The house is cubical with projecting bracketed eaves and an iron fence, and is set on a low, red sandstone wall.

Little is known of the Dolan House, located at 1056 Ninth Street. It is a classic little cottage designed by William Crowe with a hip roof and dormer window that characterizes it.

The Centennial House, located at 1050 Ninth Street, is a one-story brick cottage. The house, built by Henry Cole circa 1875, has beautifully proportioned windows. It has an asymmetrical plan, and is accented by a white picket fence. The Centennial house may be the oldest standing brick residence in the city of Denver.

The Roop House, built in 1875, is located at 1024 Ninth Street. It is a plum colored house with an iron cresting roofline and iron fencing. The inside of the house has a finely crafted oak staircase.

The Smedley House is the second oldest house in the block. It is a frame house, located at 1020 Ninth Street, and has been through several structural alterations. When first constructed water was drawn from a well in the basement. The porch might have been original to the building and the bracketed eaves have stood the test of time.

The Knight House, located at 1015 Ninth Street, is a quaint little Victorian style dwelling. It has one of three mansard roof houses on Ninth Street Parkway.

There was a cupola on the original structure that does not exist now. The Knight-Ben family assisted in the addition to the house.

The Witte House, located at 1027 Ninth Street, is towered and crested. Built circa 1883, this house has spacious rooms and a defining tower. Prior to 1890, the house contained six rooms. More rooms, the tower, and a box bay on the north side were added after 1890. During restoration a skylight was added on top of the tower to provide more natural light.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ "A Walking Tour of Auraria." Pamphlet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books- Denver and Local History

- Abbott, Frank C. The Auraria Higher Education Center: How It Came To Be. Denver, CO: Auraria Higher Education Center, 1999.
- Coel, Margaret, Jane Barker, Karen Gilleland. The Tivoli: Bavaria in the Rockies. Discovering Historic Colorado. Boulder, CO: Colorado and the West, 1985.
- Eitemiller, David. Historic Tours: For Automobile, Bicycle, Omnibus, or Walking: Denver. New York: Dover Publications, 1977.
- Eitemiller, David J. A Tour of Historic Denver, Including Auraria, Lower Downtown Denver, 17th Street, Civic Center, Brown's Bluff, Quality Hill, and Humboldt Island (The 2nd Historic District). A Bus Tour Prepared for the Catholic Alumni Club of Denver. Denver, CO: Denver, 1974.
- Etheredge, Tracie and Stan Oliner. "An Inventory of the Records of the Auraria Town Company: Collection Number 23: a Holding of the Library of the Colorado Historical Society." In Auraria Town Company, Colorado Historical Society Library. ed. Denver, CO: The Society, 1993.
- Etter, Don D. Auraria: Where Denver Began. Denver, CO: Colorado Associated University Press, 1972.
- Leonard, Stephen J. and Thomas J. Noel. Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis. Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1990 & 1994.
- McEnroe, Donna. Denver Renewed: A History of the Denver Urban Renewal Authority, ed. by Dick Johnston. Denver, CO: The Denver Foundation and Alex B. Holland Memorial Fund, 1992.
- Noel, Thomas J. Colorado Catholicism and The Archdiocese of Denver, 1857-1989. Denver, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1989.

Noel, Thomas J. Denver's Larimer Street: Main Street, Skid Row, and Urban Renaissance. Denver, CO: Historic Denver, Inc., 1981, 1983.

Rivera, George Jr., Aileen F. Lucero, and Richard Castro. "International Colonialism in Colorado: The Westside Coalition and Barrio Control." In La Gente: Hispano History and Life in Colorado, ed. Vincent C. DeBaca. Denver, CO: Colorado Historical Society, 1998.

Smiley, Jerome C. History of Denver. Denver, CO: Western Pub. Co., 1978 (Reprint of the original 1901 edition).

Books – Urban History and Analysis (other than Denver and Local)

Abbott, Carl. The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.

Berry, Brian Joe Loble. The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Business: the Hyde Park- Kenwood Case. Chicago: Center for Urban Studies, University of Chicago, 1968.

Davis, Mike. City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles. New York: Verso, 1990.

Davis, Mike. Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the US City. New York: Verso, 2000.

Garreau, Joel. Edge City: Life on the New Urban Frontier. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

Judd, Dennis R. and Todd Swanstrom. City Politics: Private Power and Public Policy. New York: Longman, 2002.

Judd, Dennis R. "From Cowtown to Sunbelt City: Boosterism and Economic Growth in Denver." In Fainstein, S., Fainstein, N., Hill, R.L., Judd, D., and Smith, M.P. eds., Restructuring the Political Economy of Urban Development. New York: Longman, 1972.

Judd, Dennis R. and Paul P. Kantor, eds. The Politics of Urban America: a Reader. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998.

Judd, Dennis R. and Robert E. Mendelson. The Politics of Urban Planning: the East St. Louis Experience. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Logan, John R. and Harvey L. Molotch. Urban Fortunes: the Political Economy of Place. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987.

McLemore, S. Dale and Harriet D. Romo. Racial and Ethnic Relations in America. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998 ed.

Mohl, Raymond A. The Making of Urban America. Willmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1997.

Sugrue, Thomas J.. The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Journal Article

Convery, William J. 1997. "Pray for the Soul of Catherine Smith Mullen" John K. and Catherine S. Mullen and Philanthropy in Auraria. In Historical Studies Journal, v. 14. Denver, CO: University of Colorado at Denver, 1997.

1969 Newspaper Articles and Letters, and Advertisements

q "21 Denver Legislators Favor Auraria." Denver Post, Sunday, 2 November 2, 1969: 33.

q "Auraria Foes Plan Fight in Legislature." Denver Post, 5 November 1969: 48.

q "Auraria: A Bargain Denver Needs." Denver Post, 2 November 1969: 3G.

"Auraria: Fine But Too Close." Denver Post, 5 November 1969: 34.

"Citizens for Auraria To Continue After Vote." Rocky Mountain News, 1 November 1969: 26.

"Dedicated Students Show the Way." Rocky Mountain News, 6 November 1969: 62.

- "Denver Election Turnout Light." Denver Post (Home Edition), 4 November 1969: 1A.
- ⌚ "Denver to Decide Auraria Proposal." Denver Post, 3 November 3, 1969: 1A.
- "Hispanos Cite Church Failure." Denver Catholic Register, 18 December 1969: 1.
- "McNichols Answers Questions on Auraria." Rocky Mountain News, 2 November 1969: 5 & 10.
- "Metro Student Survey Shows: Central College Good for Jobs". Denver Catholic Register, 27 November 27 1969: 10.
- "Official Cites Reasons for Auraria Vote." Rocky Mountain News, 1 November 1969: 42.
- ⌚ "Opposition Seeks Auraria Fund Block." Denver Post, 2 November 2 1969: 34.
- "Vote for Auraria Amendment #1." Auraria Campus Advertisement. Denver: CO: Citizens for Auraria. 1969.
- ⌚ "West Side Action Council Opposes Auraria Issue." Denver Post, 2 November 1969: 37.
- "Why Denver Needs the Auraria Center." Auraria Campus Advertisement. Denver: CO: Citizens for Auraria. 1969.
- ⌚ Aragon, Mrs. Germaine. "Concern of Chicano For Auraria Homes." (letter to The Open Forum) Denver Post, 3 November 1969: 12.
- Ball, Dave. "Metro Student Defends Auraria." Denver Post, 1 November 1969: 12.
- Bonfils, Frederick G. "The Open Forum." Denver Post, 3 November 1969: 19.
- ⌚ Ditmer, Joanne. "Broken Pledges Threaten Auraria." Denver Post, 2 November 1969: 93.
- ⌚ Johnston, Dick. "Voters of Denver Approve College Project in Auraria: Legislature Next Hurdle for Complex." Denver Post, 5 November 1969: 1A & 3A.

Johnston, Dick. "Commission to Request \$5.6 Million for Auraria." Denver Post, 7 November 1969: 52.

Johnston, Dick. "Is Auraria the Key to Checking Denver's Decline as Core City?" Denver Post, 2 November 1969: 1 (Perspective Section).

Lyle, Don. "2nd Charter Amendment is Explained." Rocky Mountain News, 2 November 1969: 8.

Lyle, Don. "Mayor Vows Auraria Follow Through." Rocky Mountain News, 6 November 1969: 8.

Morehead, John. "Mayor Sees Vote Turnout of 61,000." Denver Post, 2 November 1969: 1 & 4.

Tucker, Richard. "Auraria Wins by 3,773 Margin, City Voters Give Okay to Auraria." Rocky Mountain News, 5 November 1969: 1,5,8.

Tucker, Richard. "CCHE to Seek Auraria Project Funds." Rocky Mountain News, 6 November 1969: 5 & 6.

Manuscripts

Denver City and Auraria, the commercial emporium of the Pike's Peak gold regions in 1859: St. Louis? 44 pp., 15 pp. advertisements, illus., map. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Auraria Town Company. 1858-1860. Records of the Auraria Town Company, from October 1858 to March 1860. 23 pp. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Auraria Town Company. Circa 1930. Copy of original "Town record" of Denver City, Colorado [1858-1861]: copy of original "Town record" of St. Charles Town Association [1858]. Denver, CO: Document Division, Denver Museum Collection. 62 pp., 12 leaves. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Barker, Anselm Holcomb. 1959. Anselm Holcomb Barker, 1822-1895, pioneer builder and early settler of Auraria: his diary of 1858 from Plattsmouth, Nebraska Territory, to Cherry Creek Diggings, present site of Denver, Colorado., 1:83. Denver, Colorado: Golden Bell Press. 83 pp., illus., bib., index. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Barney, Libeus. 1959. Letter of the Pike's Peak gold rush (or, Early day letters from Auraria) Early-day letters, by Libeus Barney, reprinted from the Bennington Banner, Vermont, 1859-1860. San Jose, CA: Talisman Press. 97 pp., illus., port., fold map (in pocket). Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Denver Urban Renewal Authority, Records, 1958-1974. 1976 [manuscript]. Denver, CO. 7 boxes, finding aid, Auraria project in Box 4. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Thesis and Dissertations

Corson, Dan William. 1998. "Dana Crawford: from Larimer Square to LoDo, Historic Preservation in Denver.": Thesis (M.S.) University of Colorado at Denver, 1998.

Gallegos, Magdalena. "History of the Hispanic Settlers in Auraria: the Forgotten Community." Denver, CO, 1985.

Gallegos, Magdalena. "Auraria Remembered." Denver, CO: Community College of Denver, 1991.

Milstein, Philip. "The Auraria Higher Education Center." Thesis (D.P.A.) University of Colorado at Denver, 1990.

Surveys, Maps, and Pamphlets

"A Walking Tour of Auraria." Denver: CO: Auraria Higher Education Center. 2002. Pamphlet.

BRW, Inc. and Flores Associates, Madison, Madison, International, Felsberg, Holt, and Ullevig, Hammer-Siler-George Associates. 1986. Auraria Parkway Corridor Study: 153. Denver, CO: BRW, Inc. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Emrich, Ron and Barbara Norgen. Architectural and Historical Survey of Downtown Denver. Denver, CO: Preservation Alliance, 1984. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Denver Planning Office. Community Renewal Program. Denver, Condition of the City: March 1973 / Prepared by the City and County of Denver Planning Office: Community Renewal Program. Denver, CO: Planning Office, 1973. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Denver Urban Renewal Authority. Denver Urban Renewal Authority. Denver, CO: The Authority. 1 map, 1983. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Fetter, Rosemary. "A Brief History of Auraria: Celebrating 20 Years of Innovation In Higher Education." Denver, CO: office of the Executive Vice President for Administration, Auraria Higher Education Center, 1997. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

Historic Denver, Incorporated. "Ninth Street Park Dedication." Denver, CO: Historic Denver, Inc. August 1, 1976. Pamphlet. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy.

University of Denver and Social Welfare Institute. "A Survey of Human Needs and Utilization Patterns Among Mexican-American Residents in the Auraria Barrio of Denver." Denver, CO, 1972. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy. Survey.